

THE MIDDLE EAST

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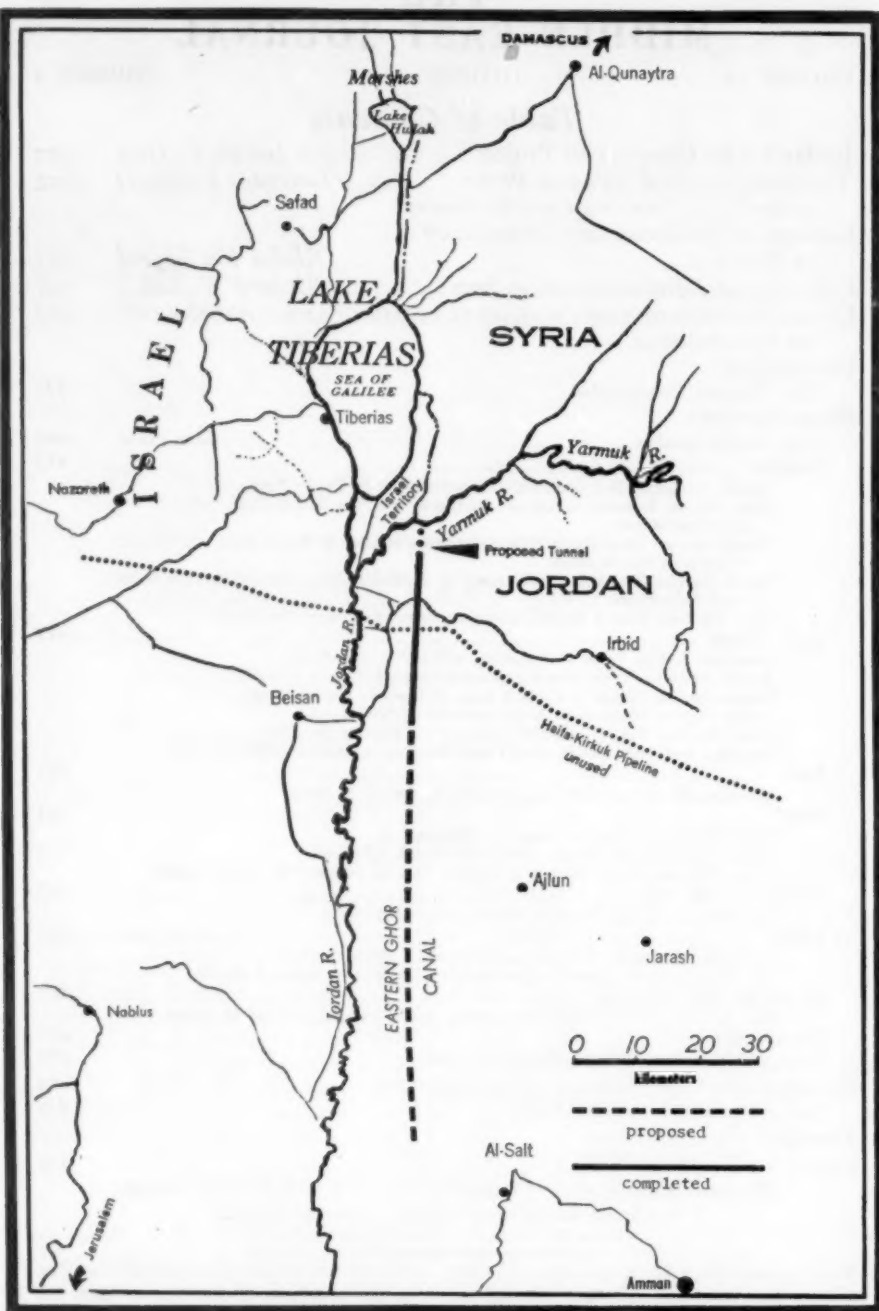
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The cover photograph is of a section of the East Ghor Canal in Jordan

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THE EAST GHOR CANAL PROJECT
(see opposite page)

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JORDAN'S EAST GHOR CANAL PROJECT

Joseph L. Dees

ON August 8, 1958, ground was broken for a large scale irrigation canal project which would appear to have considerable significance for the future of Jordan's economy. Financed jointly by the United States and Jordanian governments under a general agreement on technical and financial assistance concluded in the summer of 1957 and a Project Agreement signed at Amman by representatives of the Jordan Development Board and the United States International Cooperation Administration (ICA) on May 31, 1958, the project is expected to cost \$12 million and require three to five years for completion. Under the latter agreement the United States Operations Mission in Jordan is contributing \$2.5 million and the Jordanian Government is contributing the *dinar* equivalent of \$420,000 in payments in kind for the initial stages. This period was originally to run from June 1958 to December 1959, but has been extended by subsequent agreements between the two governments to run to December 1960. The Jordanian Government's contribution is to consist largely of technical, supervisory and administrative services, with the United States paying the costs of labor, transport, material, equipment and supplies and also contributing technical and advisory personnel.

The project—referred to as the East Ghor Canal Project—is the largest single irrigation scheme ever undertaken in Jordan. As presently conceived, it will consist of a seventy kilometer ($43\frac{3}{4}$ mile) main canal

♦ JOSEPH L. DEES served as an instructor at the Collège de Garçons in Sétif, Algeria in 1956-57. In the summer of 1956 he studied at the American University of Beirut. This article was drawn from material prepared in connection with graduate studies of The American University, Washington, D.C.

(including a kilometer-long tunnel) which will tap the waters of the Yarmuk River in north Jordan by simple gravity diversion to irrigate 120,000 *dunums* (30,000 acres) of cultivable land along the eastern slope of the Jordan River valley, or what the Arabs refer to as *El-Ghor*.¹ It is estimated that the Yarmuk, which is shared with Syria, will provide 100,000 acre feet, or 123,350,000 cubic meters, of water annually to the scheme. The Zarqa River, which is the Hashimite Kingdom's principal other—and unshared—tributary of the Jordan, and seven intervening *wadis*, or seasonal streams, which the canal will traverse, will also be tapped, although volume estimates here are not available.

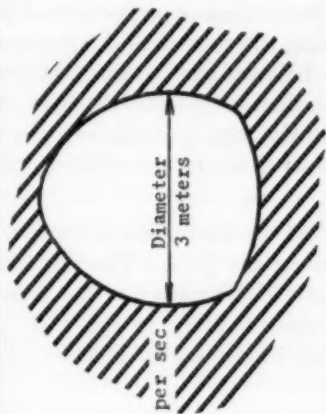
The diversion from the Yarmuk is at a point four kilometers upstream from al-Adasiya, or approximately ten kilometers northeast as the crow flies from the confluence of the Yarmuk with the Jordan below Lake Tiberias. The canal, with its intake structures, plus the scores of lateral feedouts, back-ups, bridges, siphons, culverts, waste outlets, and other devices normal for such an operation, will extend on a generally north-south line to a point about 4.8 kilometers below the Zarqa. Its entire course will be below sea level, the Yarmuk at the point of diversion being *minus* 203.6 meters. The closed-horseshoe shaped tunnel, three meters—or about nine feet, nine inches—in diameter will permit a flow of twenty cubic meters per second. The concrete-lined canal prism will be of a uniform depth of 2.07 meters, a width across the base of 2.97 meters, and with sides sloping at a ratio of one and a half to one meter. It will accommodate ten cubic meters per second. Flanking the canal on one side will be a one-meter-wide berm (shelf) and a five-meter (about sixteen and a half feet) service road.

Work on the East Ghor Project has progressed steadily and with what appears to have been some eye for economy. A report issued by the Jordan Development Board in February 1959 reported that a force of 851 Jordanian laborers, recruited by the Jordanian Government "from 114 villages from all over the country" and paid out of the United States contribution, had completed some six kilometers of rough excavation and grading southward from the point of issue of the projected tunnel by the end of January. The report added that "savings and strict control of expenditures" had resulted in economies of JD 12,467 out of a total allocation of JD 75,858.400 during the first six months of the project, or a saving of close to \$35,000 out of a total allocation of slightly more than \$212,000 for the period. By the end of April the excavation work

1. Although, as an English geographer has pointed out, the term *El-Ghor* is sometimes used to denote the whole of the Jordan depression from Lebanon to the Gulf of Aqaba, it normally referred—as it does in this case—to the narrow sixty-five mile-long rift from Lake Tiberias to the Dead Sea, a region entirely below sea level. (W. B. Fisher in *The Middle East*, London, Methuen, 1950, p. 381).

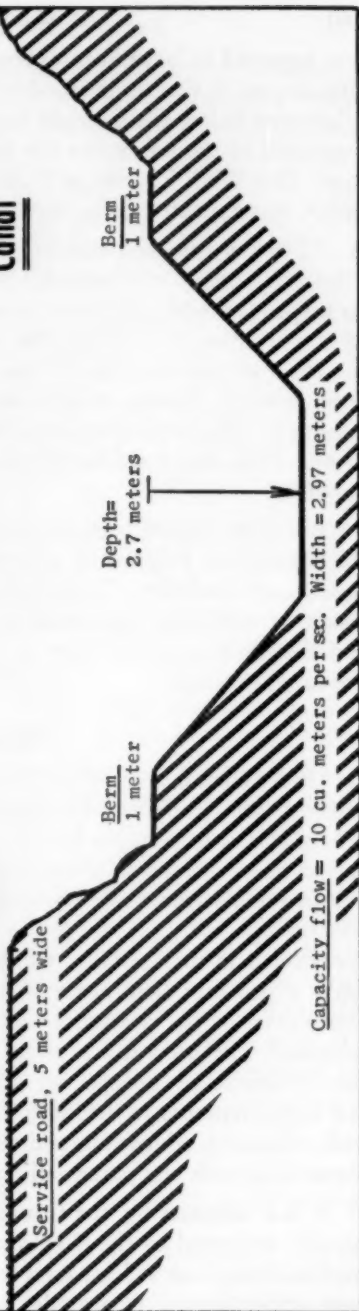
**EAST GHOR CANAL
and Tunnel Project**

Capacity flow = 20 cu. meters per sec.



Tunnel

Service road, 5 meters wide



Canal

Capacity flow = 10 cu. meters per sec. Width = 2.97 meters

was reported to have been extended an additional six kilometers, and by late August it was understood to have approached a point some eighteen kilometers below the Yarmuk in the vicinity of the Wadi Hisa. Provision was made in the meantime for increasing the original work force by 500 men. The Wadi Ziglab, at 22.8 kilometers from the Yarmuk diversion point, was expected to be reached sometime in the autumn.

"Twenty-two-point-eight" has taken on special significance as the kilometric point at which the first stage of canal excavation work is to be suspended while a private contracting firm takes over the actual job of construction, i. e., lining the canal, drilling the tunnel, and constructing the diversion structure at the Yarmuk. Bids for the job were received from five companies—two German, one Italian, one Lebanese, and one American, the latter proposing to work jointly with a Jordanian firm—in mid-July, and were under consideration as this article was being prepared.

Another landmark in the development of the East Ghor scheme was the signing on July 16 of a contract between the Jordan Development Board and the Harza Engineering Company of Chicago for the supervision of the canal construction and for the designing of the drainage and distribution system for the farm units which are to benefit from the canal's waters.

The Canal Law

Under the May 31, 1958, Project Agreement on the East Ghor Canal Scheme, the Jordanian Government undertook to take "appropriate, timely action to provide for only economic, resident-operated farm irrigation units to receive water under the East Ghor Canal Scheme which will provide a reasonable standard of living, and which will enable such resident-operator (a) to pay a pro-rata share of the annual costs of operation and maintenance of the East Ghor Canal Scheme and (b) to repay a pro-rata share, over a reasonable period of years, of an appropriate share of the construction costs incurred in the construction of the Scheme." The need for equitable apportionment of the irrigable lands, clearly defined procedures for determining land values and water rights, and improvements in farming and marketing methods and facilities as well as housing, education, and communal facilities was also mentioned in connection with the potentially affected areas.

A law adopted by the Council of Ministers in February and subsequently approved by the King and the Parliament goes a long way toward implementing—or at least establishing the apparatus for implementing—these undertakings. It provides for the establishment of an independent

East Ghor Canal Authority² "for the purpose of planning, constructing, operating, maintaining, and carrying out all operations related to the East Ghor Canal Project and the settlement of disputes resulting from the use of the Yarmuk River water and the waters of the Wadis which irrigate the project area, and springs which fall within it and which may be used for the implementation of the project." The Law vests exclusive power and responsibility in the Canal Authority for the control and distribution of irrigation waters under the Scheme, evaluation and acquisition of land and water rights, leasing, apportionment of farm plots, and the registration of deeds, *inter alia*. A system of priorities is set up for the apportionment of the irrigable lands in order of preference to resident landowner operators within the area, absentee owners of land in the area used through lease or share cropping, existing cultivators within the area, farmers in the immediate sub-district, and *bona fide* farmers in other districts. Plots are limited to a minimum of thirty *dunums* (approximately seven and half acres) and to a maximum of 300 *dunums* (approximately seventy-five acres), one plot to an individual or family, and cannot be sub-divided or parcelled into units smaller than the minimum referred to.

Present landowners in the area possessing more than thirty *dunums* will be given the right to acquisition of a farm unit on a sliding scale which provides for the allotment of an area equal to the area of irrigable lands presently owned for those possessing thirty to fifty *dunums* on up to the 300 *dunums* maximum for those possessing over 1,000. Lands held in excess of the 300 *dunum* maximum are to be sold to the Authority at a price not exceeding the estimated value placed on it by an evaluation committee representing landowners, district officers, and the Authority; or excess lands may be leased to the Authority for thirty-three years at a rental not exceeding twenty-five per cent of gross annual output of the land. A landowner possessing less than thirty *dunums* will receive from the Authority by sale or lease additional lands until his farm unit "approximately equals" the minimum under the Law. Boundaries are to be fixed "with due consideration of the technical and economic requirements of the lateral distribution system," and exceptions up to ten per cent of the total unit area will be allowed with regard to the legal maximums or minimums "for the purpose of eliminating odd-shaped fragments of land."

Among other things the Law:

Reserves the right, in cases where a landowner or sub-lessee dies leaving

2. The Canal Authority was established, effective July 15, with Ahmad Isma'il, Director of Lands and Surveys, named as Director General. Suwaylim Haddad, project supervisor of the East Ghor Canal Scheme, was designated Chief Engineer of the Technical Section, and Dr. Najm al-din Dajani, Development Board economist, was named Chief of the Development Section.

more than one heir, to repossess the decedent's farm units and realloot them to "whoever is qualified and capable of his heirs," or in the absence of such, to compensate the heirs and allot the land units to others;

Provides for repayment to the Authority of the value of land acquired under the Law in ten equal annual installments plus four per cent interest per annum on the unpaid balance;

Provides for the leasing of farm units registered in the name of the Authority subject to renewal, and subject to cancellation "if the Authority is satisfied that the sub-lessee is not utilizing the farm unit leased to him satisfactorily; and

Provides for the recovery from the landowner, in the form of a water charge for each cubic meter of water delivered to his land, all costs entailed in the construction of the canal as well as the costs of "technical and economic studies for the improvement of water resources and soil conditions in and outside the project area," which—it is stated—the Authority will carry out.

Maintenance and operations costs for the canal, the Law states, will be recovered from owners and sub-lessees on a per *dunum* basis, i.e., according to the size of the farm unit involved. Although not stated precisely, it is inferred that this will be done in the form of an annual tax.

Of unusual interest and, because of its peculiar significance worth quoting in its entirety, is Article XIII. This article, which concludes what might be called the substantive portion of the East Ghor Canal Law, states:

The Authority, in cooperation with responsible ministries and departments, each within its field of responsibility and functions, shall assist farmers within the project area in all technical, economic, financial and sanitary questions, and the Authority shall carry out these functions directly within its capabilities if the concerned ministries and departments cannot do it, including the granting of agricultural loans, the setting up of cooperative societies, questions of marketing, agricultural extensions, soil conservation and other relevant activities or agricultural development.

Economic Implications

Viewed against the situation in neighboring Syria, where some million and a half acres³ are under irrigation, and in Iraq, where the figure is

3. 591,000 hectares (hectare = 2.471 acres), or 1,458,361 acres, were under irrigation in Syria in 1955 and this area was to be increased 56,400 hectares, or 138,623 acres, under projects completed or near completion in 1958, according to Sir Reader Bullard: *The Middle East—A Political and Economic Survey*, 3rd ed., Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, London, 1958, pp. 475-476.

closer to seven and a quarter million,⁴ the East Ghor project seems insignificant by comparison; viewed against the background of Jordan's own economic needs, it is of major importance.

Jordan's economic position could hardly be less enviable. Small (a little over 37,000 square miles in area or about the size of Indiana), overpopulated, and with a current rate of population increase estimated at 2.75-2.8% per annum,⁵ the country is severely limited in natural resources, technical capacity, and transport facilities. Cut off from its traditional markets in Palestine and from its principal outlet to the sea, Haifa, beset by internal and external political pressures, and burdened with refugees, unemployment, and a heavy military budget,⁶ it is unable to sustain itself from its own resources. In the ten years since its inception as the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan, it has been dependent on foreign aid for well over half of its annual budget requirements and for upwards of sixty per cent of its total revenues.⁷ Its balance of payments deficit—sixty-eight per cent in the three-year period 1954-1956, the latest for which figures are available—is the highest of any in the Middle East, with the exception of Israel's, which was eighty-eight per cent for the same period.⁸ Its per capita income of \$100 is among the lowest.⁹

To absorb some of its unemployment and to help, even in small measure, to narrow the gap between its import requirements and its ability to pay, the Jordanian Government has encouraged, insofar as capital was available, the exploitation of the country's mineral resources (phosphates, manganese, and Dead Sea mineral salts), the development of a number of

4. Table 87, *Statistical Abstract of 1957*, (Ministry of Economic Affairs, Baghdad, 1958), gives the following figures for irrigated lands in Iraqi *dunums* (0.62 acres): by flow, 6,740,944; by water wheel, 224,573; by pump, 4,478,106; by "other means" (presumably including inundation at flood time), 205,528. Total: 11,649,151 *dunums* or 7,222,473 acres. The Dokan Dam on the Lesser Zab, now nearing completion, is expected to add 780,000 acres to this total by 1960, according to Doreen Warriner, *Land Reform and Development in the Middle East*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, London, 1957, p. 124.

5. Jordan's population was more than trebled by the accession of some 400,000 inhabitants of the West Bank and 476,000 refugees as a result of the Palestine war in 1948. The population density in June 1956 was 780 per square mile of the planted area. (George L. Harris *et al.*, *Jordan, Human Relations Area Files*, New Haven, 1958, pp. 22-25.) *The Arab World*, Vol. IV, Nos. 2-5, 1958, Arab Information Center, New York, article entitled "Jordan," p. 14, puts the present population at 1,600,000 of which "about one-third" are Palestinian refugees.

6. The Jordan Development Board, in its February 1959 report cited above, estimated that 140,000 of the total labor force of 377,800 were unemployed at the end of 1957. Military expenditures have been consistently over fifty per cent and in 1956-1957 represented fifty-three per cent of the annual budget. (Bullard, *op. cit.*, p. 336 and table, p. 246.)

7. From 1951 to 1955 foreign grants and loans accounted for over fifty-eight per cent of total budget revenue, not including UNRWA and Point IV aid. (Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 141.) Grants in aid and development loans accounted for over sixty per cent of 1956 revenues and sixty-five per cent of those in 1955. (*The Arab World*, loc. cit., p. 18.)

8. ECOSOC. *Economic Developments in the Middle East 1956-1957*, United Nations, New York, 1958, p. 2.

9. Bullard, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

small industries, and tourism. It has undertaken also to improve its transport and communications system, including the conversion of the shallow draft port of Aqaba to an all purpose, deep water port and improvement of the road linking it with the rail terminus at Ras al-Naqb, near Ma'an.¹⁰ But the critical sector of the economy and, at the same time, the largest and most needful sector has been and continues to be agriculture, on which the country depends for its subsistence, for thirty to forty per cent of its national income, and for the bulk of its exports.¹¹

With cultivable land limited to an extremely small area of the country, much of it marginal, farmed by primitive and unscientific methods, and dependent on a meager and unreliable rainfall,¹² Jordan's agriculture is distinguished by its low yields—particularly in cereals, which are the country's staple product¹³—and by the unpredictability of its harvests which, barely able to meet the consumption needs of the population in a normal year, are sufficient to provide a modest export surplus in "good" years and capable of producing conditions of famine and extreme privation in the bad. An indication of the fluctuations to which Jordan's harvests are subject, depending on the rainfall, is seen in the ECOSOC report which lists the agricultural production in the years 1953-1957. Using the poor harvest year 1953 as an index of 100, it shows the barley crop—the major crop after wheat—at 242 in 1954, fifty-eight in 1955, 223 in 1956, and an estimated 163 in 1957. Wheat followed a similar, if only slightly less extreme, pattern. While it has been possible to maintain and even to increase the production of fruits and vegetables for export, thanks to increased terracing and to irrigation and reclamation schemes such as that undertaken by the Jordan Development Society near Jericho, Jordan has been obliged to supplement its grain output annually since 1950 with imports of wheat from abroad to feed its growing population.¹⁴

10. *The Arab World*, loc. cit., p. 18.

11. ECOSOC, *op. cit.*, p. 60, and Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 147. The latter states: "Some seventy-five per cent of the nonrefugee population depends on agriculture or animal husbandry for livelihood and the greater part of domestically produced income is derived from those two sources. Most of Jordan's new industries process locally grown products, much of the transport system is engaged in moving them, and the commercial and banking systems deal largely with agriculture. Agricultural produce in 1955 accounted for about fifty-eight per cent of Jordan's exports."

12. IBRD, *The Economic Development of Jordan* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1957, p. 12) puts the total cultivable area at 855,000 hectares, i.e., 2,112,705 acres, some eighty-six per cent of which receives 7.9 inches of rainfall and all but a fraction of which is too far from water to be irrigated. Harris (*op. cit.*, pp. 22-23, 148-149, and 153) puts the figure for land actually under cultivation at 4.8 per cent of the total land area of 37,000 square miles, which would be 1,776 square miles or approximately 1,136,640 acres. Of this, he states, only about two-thirds are actually cropped in any one season, the remainder lying fallow, and in much of the cultivated area rainfall is so irregular that fifty per cent may be left fallow. Eight inches of rainfall marks the limit of regular cultivation.

13. Jordan's per-acre yield of wheat and barley is the lowest of any country in the Middle East. In the five-year period 1950-1954 its wheat yield was 4.9 cwt. per acre and barley 5.5 cwt. per acre as compared with Egypt's 15.8 and 16.4 cwt. respectively. (Bullard, *op. cit.*, table on p. 536.)

14. Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 121 and 162.

Confronted with this situation, Jordanian economists and technicians and American and British advisors working with them have long recognized that Jordan's cultivated area must be extended and its productivity increased through perennial irrigation and improved methods and conditions of farming if the country is to be assured of its subsistence, improve its trade position, earn the foreign credits necessary for improvements in other sectors of the economy, and absorb some of its crowded population in useful pursuits.

The East Ghor Canal scheme should go a long way toward meeting some of these needs. Although not as elaborate or extensive as some of the schemes put forward in the past and lacking the element of hydro-electric power which some of these envisaged,¹⁵ the project now underway has the advantage of low costs and comparatively rapid completion on its side. No dams, no reservoirs, no complex hydro-electric power stations are involved to enlarge the capital outlay to unfeasible (even with generous foreign aid) extremes and extend the time necessary to get lands under irrigation. Further, it appears to be going ahead in the absence of the political contentions which bogged down the earlier plans and to have the tacit consent of the two governments—Israel and the United Arab Republic—which might have conceived cause to interpose objections.¹⁶

By tapping the waters of the Yarmuk by a simple, pump-free, gravity diversion and tying these in with those of the Zarqa and of the wadis and springs of the area in a single complex, the East Ghor Canal Project promises to open up extensive acreage to production in an area hitherto noted for its low level of productivity and to extend the total irrigated area of

15. The so-called Bunge Plan, prepared in 1952 by the United States Point IV program and calling for a high dam on the Yarmuk, would have irrigated 109,000 acres in Jordan (plus 6,000 in Syria) and provided 28,500 kilowatts of hydro-electric power for use by both countries at an estimated cost of \$60,000,000, requiring five to eight years for completion. (Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 157.) Other plans have run as high as \$100,000,000. (*The Arab World, loc. cit.*, p. 18.)

16. Mutual distrust between the Arab countries and Israel, culminating in the failure of the Eric Johnston proposals of 1953-1955 for a regional development of the Jordan River system, appears to have been followed by indecisiveness, tempered by inter-Arab tensions, which has prevented the realization of a unilateral Jordanian project until now. It is noteworthy in this connection that neither the United Arab Republic, which in its Syrian Region shares the Yarmuk with Jordan, nor Israel, whose bitter objections to exclusive Arab use of the Jordan River tributary forced the suspension of an earlier Yarmuk project in 1953 (Bullard, *op. cit.*, p. 339), appears to have voiced any objection to the present scheme. A *New York Times* dispatch from Tel-Aviv in October 1958, shortly after the East Ghor Canal Project got under way, quoted a United States diplomatic source to the effect that "there was an unwritten agreement between the two countries (Israel and Jordan) that neither would take more water than it was to have received under the regional (Johnston) plan." The Israelis have been at work since 1954 on a pipeline intended to siphon 130,000 acre feet per year from the Upper Jordan, above Lake Tiberias, in addition to the 150,000 acre feet presently drawn for riverside irrigation by villages in the Jordan and Huleh valleys. (*The New York Times*, October 19, 1958, p. 22.) Syria supports its 2,500-hectare (6,177-acre) Mzerib project in the Hauran from the springs feeding the Yarmuk. (IBRD, *The Economic Development of Syria*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955, p. 41.)

the country by a considerable amount.¹⁷ Lands hitherto single-cropped, alternate-cropped, or used only for grazing will, once the Canal and its lateral distribution system are in operation, be capable of double—if not triple—cropping. Acreage put to grain, capable of yielding up to 1,000 pounds per acre under irrigation as compared with an average of about 750 pounds per acre in a good year under rainfed conditions, will be subject to double-cropping in a good portion of the area, yielding in both spring and summer and adding appreciably to the production of the rainfed areas (frequently inadequate) on which the country depends for its sustenance. The production of fruits and vegetables, already developed on a fairly sizable scale at the lower end of the Jordan Valley and on the West Bank, will not only supplement the national diet but will increase the export surplus of what has become Jordan's principal commodity and money earner in the world market.¹⁸ Undoubtedly, also, some of the irrigated acreage will be planted to fodder, which has become a serious shortage in the drought years, as in the past winter, with disastrous consequences for the livestock on which the three-quarters of a million Jordanians (excluding the half-million refugees) who earn their living from the land depend for their subsistence—i.e., meat, milk, fats, hides, wool, and barter on the hoof for other commodities, not to mention uses such as burden, transport, and drawing of the plow. Although the United States shipped in fodder last winter to help relieve the distress caused by fourteen months of drought, it was estimated that as much as half of Jordan's 1,250,000 head of sheep, goats, cattle and camels had died or would die as a result of the drought.¹⁹ The longer range effects in terms of reproduction and of the quality of the surviving animals may readily be conjectured. It is highly unlikely that the growing of fodder in the irrigated East Ghor lands would be sufficient in itself to forestall such disasters in future drought years, but it can go a long way toward curbing their extent, given the necessary foresight and control of distribution by the government.

It would be premature to attempt to reckon with any degree of accuracy the economic portent of the East Ghor Project in terms of income producing power, and no estimates on this score have been made, so far as is known. However, a rough indication may be found in the comment

17. Figures differ on the amount of land presently under irrigation. The Royal Institute of International Affairs puts the figure at 32,300 hectares, or about 80,000 acres. (Bullard, *op. cit.*, p. 338.) The Human Relations Area Files gives the figure 120,000 acres. (Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 148.) The addition of 30,000 acres in either case will mark a notable increase.

18. The export of vegetables and plants (tomatoes, broadbeans, peas, beets, tobacco) and of fruits (bananas, citrus fruits, grapes, olives and olive oil) has played an increasingly significant role in recent years. The value of fruit and vegetable exports increased from \$600,000 in 1951 to \$5.5 million in 1956. In the latter year fruit and vegetables comprised forty per cent of Jordan's total exports. (Harris, *op. cit.*, Table nine on p. 233, and Bullard, *op. cit.*, Table (b), p. 344.)

19. *The New York Times*, January 25, 1959, p. 1.

of an official of the Ministry of Economy to a correspondent of *The New York Times* in Amman in the summer of 1956²⁰ on what appears to have been an earlier version of the present canal plan, subsequently dropped. The then contemplated plan, providing for the irrigation of 25,000 acres, would, he said, add an estimated \$5.6 million to the gross national income. Assuming this estimate to have at least approximate applicability to the canal now being excavated, the estimated increase in gross national income to be derived from the 30,000 acres now contemplated would be in the neighborhood of \$7 million. For a country in which the gross national income from agriculture averaged \$47.6 million per year for the three years 1952-1954,²¹ this would be a significant advance. What this will mean in terms of employment, not only on the land but in related activities—sale of seeds, implements, and fertilizers, packaging, processing, transport, marketing, brokerage, and shipping—hardly needs comment.

A final consideration is the conservation of the land itself. The terracing, ditching, and other forms of improvement inherent in the main irrigation scheme and in the harnessing of off-peak waters should curb to a considerable extent the erosion which has been the perennial blight of the area.

Social Implications

Certainly no less significant—and possible more so—are the social implications of the East Ghor Canal Project and the Law under which it will be operated. Perhaps "socio-economic" would be the better term, as the implications are clearly linked to productivity. The Canal Law promulgated earlier this year clearly provides for land reform, with all of the magic meaning that this term has in a land where land ownership is identified with social and economic stability and where secure and debt-free conditions of tenancy have come to be looked upon as an unattainable dream. While it is limited to the potentially irrigable lands in a single region of the country, it undertakes to correct some of the conditions which have been subject to abuse in the past and to guarantee social improvements of a kind regarded as essential to the well being of the rural population and the economic progress of the country.

Some of the more notable characteristics of Middle Eastern agriculture—monopoly of the land by big landowners, rent gouging, unequal taxation, excessive interest charging, absentee landlordism, sharecropping, communal farming, and land fragmentation—have been less pronounced in Jordan than in other countries of the area. The wasteful *musha'a* system

20. *The New York Times*, August 27, 1956, p. 3, column one, article by Sam Pope Brewer.

21. ECOSOC, *op. cit.*, p. 62, Table thirty-nine, based on Albert Y. Badre *et al*, *The National Income of Jordan, 1952-1954*, Economic Research Institute, American University of Beirut, Beirut.

of rotational strip-farming of communally held lands was largely eliminated under the British Mandate, and absence of capital, as much as village and nomad resistance to encroachment by the town dwellers, has operated to hold down absentee landlordism and the role of the urban money lender.²² But the problems are far from being entirely removed. Landholdings are in most cases too meager to be profitable,²³ fragmentation of holdings is still widespread, and short-term leases (usually by the year), communal farming, extortionist interest rates,²⁴ and absentee landlordism make for wasteful use of the land and prevent the incentive to invest and improve. Add to this: high transportation costs, poor marketing facilities, low quality and lack of standardization, primitive methods of cultivation, antiquated and unrealistic interpretations of water rights, inadequate health, housing and sanitary facilities, and the debilitating effects of diseases resulting from these last and from what is at best, for many, a subsistence level of consumption.

The Canal Law proposes to meet most of these obstacles head on and taking first things first. Its clear injunction against fragmentation, its fixing of maximum *and* minimum holdings, its system of priorities favoring the resident landowner, its establishment of commissions for the equitable evaluation of property and for the determination of water rights, and—what may prove to be the most important of all—its provisions for long-term, low interest loans and long-term leases, are little short of revolutionary. Its provisions for repayment of the Canal's construction and operation costs and for "studies for the improvement of water resources and soil conditions in and outside the project area" on a volume-of-water-delivered and size-of-holding basis are not only equitable and admirable, providing the landowner with a vested interest in the conservation and improvement of the land, but bear the mark also of good economics and good budgeting. The sharp departure from the traditional tribal inheritance laws, vesting in the Canal Authority the power to name "whoever is qualified and capable" among two or more heirs to carry on with the cultivation of a farm unit, is a further evidence of a realistic

22. Miss Doreen Warriner, a well-qualified observer, points out in her *Land and Poverty in the Middle East* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, London, 1948, pp. 77 and 79) that war-rich speculators from Beirut and Damascus who have bought land in Jordan have, in some instances, been unable to take possession of the land or to collect rents from Jordanian cultivators, who "resisted with violence." (*Land Reform* . . . , pp. 164-5.)

23. Harris *et al* (*op. cit.*, p. 151) report that twenty-two per cent of land holders in the Jordan Valley own less than half an acre each and that fifty per cent own about four acres each. Fewer than two per cent own over 250 acres.

24. Interest rates where land, crops, or movable property are pledged varies between twenty per cent and fifty per cent. Without collateral, the rate may mount as high as 300%. Fighting the losing battle of amortizing loans at such rates, Jordan's peasantry showed a registered indebtedness of \$9.5 million in 1955. (*Ibid.*, p. 152)

approach, as is the single big "exception" in the Law which permits extensions or reductions of the holdings up to ten per cent of the established limits to eliminate "odd-shaped fragments of land."

Important as are these provisions for the tenure of the land and control of the irrigation waters, no less vital are the provisions affecting the human resources of the canal area. The Canal Law does not go quite so far as the undertaking in the May 1958 Project Agreement. There is, for example, no reference to the "farm-to-market roads, village water supplies, housing, educational and communal facilities" mentioned in the original Agreement, and what is mentioned in regard to farmer assistance is put in large and general terms rather than specifics. Article XIII of the Law, as was quoted earlier, commits the Canal Authority only to "cooperation with responsible ministries and departments" in assisting farmers in the project area "in all technical, economic, financial and sanitary questions." But the intention to cut red tape and get things done comes through unmistakably in the latter part of the Article where it is stated that "if the concerned ministries and departments cannot do it," the Authority will carry out these functions, including the granting of agricultural loans, the setting up of cooperative societies, questions of marketing, *et cetera*, "within its capabilities." Thus while the question of communal improvement is avoided, with the exception of the reference to "sanitary questions," there is at least a clear declaration of intention to provide the Canal area farmers with the credit, marketing, and other facilities necessary for the general improvement of their lands, productivity and earning power and, therewith, of their living standard.

As has been illustrated many times in the past, there is a big difference between intentions and performance. There is a difference also between law and enforcement of law.²⁵ Much will depend on the energy, efficiency, judiciousness, and absolute incorruptibility of the officials administering the Canal Law if the East Ghor Scheme is to realize the full fruits, both in economic and human terms, which are inherent in it. Much will depend, too, on the responsiveness of the *fallabin* and on their capacity and willingness to adopt the new ways and new ideas which the Canal will bring in.

Meanwhile, there are already some indications of the impact that the Canal Project and Law are having. The publication of the Canal Law in February was hailed in all sections of the Jordanian press, which

25. The Dujaila canal scheme in Iraq is an example. Miss Warriner points out that "the (Dujaila) scheme has not been enforced as the law originally intended, for there is little change in methods of farming; and ownership by the cultivator is not general." Absentee landlordism and sub-letting are "a fairly general practice," she states further, and a cooperative society to which farmers were obliged to belong "broke down quickly owing to mismanagement."

used terms such as "true social justice," "achievement of socialism," "elimination of all class differences," and "basis for economic self-sufficiency" to express its approval. Absenteeism among laborers on the Canal Project itself has been lower than expected as these people, mainly agricultural workers, left their winter wheat-sowing to their families and, in some instances, hired help to tend their land in order to stay on the job and push the Canal work ahead on schedule. The total of earth and stone excavated as of the end of January, fifteen per cent ahead of and at a cubic meter unit cost twenty-four per cent below engineers' original estimates,²⁶ suggests good morale as well as good supervision and management.

Conclusions

The importance of the East Ghor development scheme should not be exaggerated. At best, it is a momentary bolstering against an adverse tide of economic realities. It will absorb some of the unemployed and increase in appreciable measure the production of foodstuffs for local consumption and for export. Also, it will raise the living standard of the rural population in the area concerned, will benefit others who will profit from their productivity, and will contribute toward reducing the country's annual trade deficits. But, the scheme will be far from relieving the total of unemployment or reducing to any considerable extent the country's dependence on foreign aid. (Jordan, with a budget slightly under \$100 million for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1959, received over \$43 million in budget support, and other assistance from the United States alone, not including the American contribution to UNRWA.²⁷) The periodic droughts and locust invasions—both experienced with serious effects in the past year—will not be affected. And the problem of the refugees, the suspicion and fear of Israel and the struggle against internal subversion will, it appears, continue to impose financial strains,²⁸ economic obstacles, and psychological distractions inimical to the full development of the limited resources which are present, at least in the immediate future.

Granted all this, the East Ghor scheme must nevertheless be regarded as a dramatic and praiseworthy effort to make progress where progress

26. Jordan Development Board, *loc. cit.*, p. 2.

27. The United States Government contributed \$23,746,069 to UNRWA out of a total contribution by governments of \$33,935,793 during the calendar year which ended December 31, 1958. The United States has contributed close to seventy per cent of the funds used by the United Nations in its Palestine refugee aid program since the program was begun in December 1948. *United States Contributions to International Organizations*, House Document No. 111, Eighty-Sixth Congress, First Session, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, April 8, 1959, pp. 96-98.

28. JD 21,250,000 of the current national budget of JD 38,171,000 were earmarked for the army and police.

appears possible. Jordan's problem is essentially that of most other countries of the Middle East: the endless race to keep agricultural production ahead of a rapidly increasing population. Subject to an adverse climate and balked by political circumstances from participation in a larger, regional development of its water resources, the country is undertaking piecemeal, with American assistance, a part of what might have been accomplished under the Johnston Plan. In doing so, it has promulgated what amounts to a limited land reform law which seems certain to have considerable social as well as economic impact. It may find also that in producing the East Ghor Canal, it has produced a symbol of accomplishment, with overtones of national pride, which will serve as a stimulus in other sectors of the economy.

It is noteworthy that the tunnel from the Yarmuk is being built to accommodate twice the volume of water that the canal will carry, permitting extension of the latter at a later date: a small sign of hope and of forward planning. Given some future settlement, the Canal is so situated that it could be readily adapted to a regional scheme for utilization of the Jordan waters. For the present, the lands it will irrigate hold the promise of employing more hands, feeding more mouths, and helping the Hashimite Kingdom—in some measure—to earn its own way. Seen in this perspective, the Canal is a major achievement.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS OF PERSIA

An Outline of Their Origin and Development

Laurence Lockhart

THE establishment of the Persian Constitution in the early years of the present century must be regarded as a remarkable achievement. In the first place, it was a very significant step forward in a land where, in the past, it had been the practice to rise against a tyrannical or incompetent sovereign and depose or assassinate him when his conduct became intolerable; in cases where those opposed to the monarch were not strong enough to oust him, they usually intrigued with some foreign military power in order to effect his removal. The Persian Constitutionalists, however, did not seek to remove their autocratic ruler, but merely to curb and control him. Secondly, the Constitution was established, in a comparatively short time, in a country where for several thousand years a tradition of autocracy had been the main feature of government, the sovereign being considered omnipotent and despotism apparently being accepted or suffered as an inevitable feature of this world before the advent of the Millennium should inaugurate the promised rule of equity. Moreover, the Persians, unlike the more democratic Arabs, had been firm believers in the divine right of kings. The late Professor Browne, who had made a special study of the Persian Constitutional movement, after drawing attention to this phenomenon in an address which he gave to the British Academy on February 6, 1918,¹ stated that the movement was nationalist rather than democratic at the outset. He went on to say "My own conviction is that the mere tyranny of an autocrat would hardly have driven the patient and tractable people of Persia into revolt had tyranny at home been combined with the maintenance of prestige abroad or only moderately effective guardianship of Persian independence. It was the combination of inefficiency, extravagance and lack of patriotic feeling with tyranny which proved insupportable, and a constitutional form of government was sought so much for its own sake as for the urgent necessity of creating a more effective and patriotic government than the existing one."

A notable feature of the Persian Constitution is that, despite occasional crises and set-backs (mostly caused or inspired by Russia) it has endured

1. "The Persian Constitutional Movement," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, London, 1917-18, Vol. VIII, p. 323-324.

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to this day, whereas in Iraq, which is mainly an Arab country and which might therefore be thought to be more receptive to democratic ideas, the system of constitutional government based upon the Organic Law of 1925² proved on the whole disappointing and was abruptly terminated in 1958 by a military *coup d'état*.³

Although the Persian Constitution did not come into being until 1906, there had been what may be termed slight stirrings of liberal opinion in the country some fifty years earlier, a development due to occurrences in Turkey. The constitutional movement in western Europe in the nineteenth century encouraged the liberal-minded elements in Turkey to press the Sultan not only for reforms, but also for some form of constitutional government which would preserve these reforms when granted. In Persia there were somewhat fainter repercussions, where Nasir ad-Din Shah, who reigned from 1848 to 1896, was at first favorably inclined towards progressive ideas.

In Turkey the *Tanzimat-i-Khairiye* (literally, "the Regulations for Welfare"), a programme for reform which came into effect in 1839 through the efforts of the enlightened Mustafa Reshid Pasha, opened up an era of progress in liberty of both thought and action. The movement underwent some vicissitudes, but its ultimate success seemed assured when, through the influence of Midhat Pasha, the Sultan Abdul Hamid was induced to establish a constitutional administration in 1876. Unfortunately, this administration was short lived, as the Sultan abolished the constitution only two years after he had granted it. He thereupon embarked upon his thirty years of absolute rule.

This retrograde development had a discouraging effect upon the sponsors of progressive ideas in Persia, and the Shah himself soon discarded them in favour of absolutism. It is, however, only fair to his memory to state that his despotism was not of the extreme kind.

In his description of the political conditions under which Persia subsisted during the latter part of Nasir ad-Din's long reign, Curzon wrote:⁴

In a country so backward in constitutional progress, so destitute of forms and statutes and charters, and so firmly stereotyped in the immemorial tradi-

2. For the text of the Iraqi Constitution, see A. J. Peaslee, *Constitutions of Nations*, The Hague, 1956, Vol. II, pp. 415-432.

3. One of the reasons for the comparative lack of success of the Iraqi Constitution was that, unlike its Persian counterpart, it was not the product of a widespread indigenous popular movement. It was, in fact, the work of a small, but highly intelligent, body of Iraqi statesmen and politicians, who were assisted by certain British officials. Secondly, the Constitution proved eventually to be unsuitable for the political conditions prevailing in Iraq. This Constitution is no longer in force; the preamble of the provisional Iraqi Constitution which was promulgated on July 26, 1958, states: "We, in the name of the people, declare the basic Iraqi Constitution and its amendments abolished as of 14th. July, 1958."

4. *Persia and the Persian Question*, London, 1892, Vol. I. p. 391.

tions of the East, the personal element, as might be expected, is largely in the ascendant; and the government of Persia is little else than the arbitrary exercise of authority by a series of units in a descending scale from the sovereign to the headman of a petty village. The only check that operates upon the lower official grades is the fear of their superiors, which means can usually be found to assuage; upon the higher ranks the fear of the sovereign, who is not always closed against similar methods of pacifications; and upon the sovereign himself the fear, not of native, but of foreign opinion, as represented by the hostile criticism of the European Press.

Curzon went on to say that in the earlier part of Nasir ad-Din's reign an indigenous controlling influence existed in the power of the *mullas*, but that the Shah had greatly reduced that influence by the gradual reassertion of the civil authority and by introducing lay administration of religious properties. He had therefore become "practically irresponsible and omnipotent," with absolute command over the lives and properties of his subjects.⁵

An interesting side-light on the Shah's attitude towards reforms in the closing years of his long life is afforded by the following extract from the concluding paragraph of the private letter of instructions which Lord Salisbury wrote to Sir Frank Lascelles on October 6, 1891 before he left England to take up his appointment as Minister of Tehran:⁶

... if circumstances move you, as well they may, to try and diminish in any respect or instance the misgovernment under which the Persians labour, you should be very careful not to inspire the Shah with suspicion that you have any settled plan for diminishing his power. He has a mortal dread of reform, and of all that may lead to it; and the fear lest measures for the development of his country should issue in the curtailment of his own power, stands for very much in the passive resistance which he has offered to most of our attempts to benefit his people.

Nasir ad-Din's son and successor Muzaffar ad-Din Shah, though of a mild disposition, brought his country to the verge of bankruptcy by his insatiable love of pleasure and his extravagant ways. Except for some members of the royal family and certain functionaries of high rank who amassed enormous fortunes, the people became more and more impoverished. During Muzaffar ad-Din's reign of nearly eleven years, Persia's burden of debt grew steadily heavier, the reason being that the Shah, faced with his empty treasury, arranged with Russia to make Persia several loans to provide him with the money for his costly journeys to Europe and his lavish gifts to favorites.⁷ As time went on, the conduct

5. *Ibid.*

6. Bound volume, Persia, Pte. Salisbury Papers, Christ Church, Oxford. The writer is indebted to Mrs. R. L. Creaves for drawing his attention to this letter.

7. For a graphic description of the parlous condition to which the country was reduced, see M. Nakhai, *L'Evolution politique de l'Iran* (Brussels, 1938), pp. 26 and 27.

of affairs by the Shah and his ministers aroused ever-increasing dissatisfaction.

In the prevailing atmosphere of discontent verging on despair, effective propaganda for the cause of reform was provided by Hajji Zain al-'Abidin in his *Siyabat-Nameh-yi-Ibrahim Beg*, in which he bitterly satirized the Government and its methods.⁸

Although the Persian people had, through their leaders, for long demanded nothing more than the dismissal of unjust and unpopular ministers and the setting up of courts of justice,⁹ in the summer of 1905 they asked for the first time for the grant of a constitution. The agitation for a constitution first expressed itself as the demand (which was echoed by liberal-minded foreign sympathizers) for a rule of law in place of the outmoded centuries-old tradition of the rule by the whim of an autocrat. This development was largely due to the influence and endeavours of the Persian intellectuals of progressive views many of whom, such as Malkom Khan (who had been Persian Minister in London from 1872 to 1889),¹⁰ had been educated or long resident in Western Europe. These men, particularly those like Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh who came from the north-western province of Azarbaijan, were, moreover, influenced and encouraged by the efforts of the Russian reformers to extort from the unwilling Tsar and his intensely reactionary mentors the substitution of constitutional government for autocratic rule.

8. This book was published in Cairo at an unspecified date; it was reprinted in Calcutta in 1905 and again, in Constantinople, in 1909.

9. There were at that time two systems of law subsisting side by side in Persia. One was the religious law (*shari' or shari'a*), which was administered by the religious leaders (*'ulama*). The other was the *'urf* or civil law. The *'urf* could hardly be regarded as a system of law; as Professor Browne explained in his address "The Persian Constitutional Movement" to the British Academy on February 6, 1918, *loc. cit.*, p. 321, it "really amounted to little more than the methods which each (provincial) governor chose to adopt in order to enforce his authority." In recent years a considerable body of secular (as distinct from religious) law has been built up in Persia. A notable feature of the new system of law is that the books, instead of being in Arabic as in the past, are in Persian and have a wide circulation. Dr. D. M. Donaldson, in his article 'Modern Persian Law' in *The Moslem World*, Vol. XXIV, p. 349, has stated: "The primary characteristic of modern Persian legislation, as contrasted with the previous system, is that it is based on direct legislation. The first question is no longer the intent of the Koran and the Traditions, but the purpose and preference of the Government. Perhaps one of the most hopeful aspects of the situation is that it is always changing. The new law is free to grow according to the immediate needs of Persia." The truth of these words is shown by the promulgation of, *inter alia*, a commercial code (*qanun-i-tijarat*), a penal code (*qanun-i-jaza'i*) and a comprehensive civil code (*qanun-i-madani*). The civil code is based to a large extent on western systems of law, but it has been so framed as not to conflict with the provisions of the religious law (*shari'*).

10. He had been given the title of prince on being appointed Minister in London. In 1890 and the following year he published in London a newspaper entitled *Qanun* ('Law'), in which he vigorously attacked Nasir ad-Din Shah and his methods of government. He advocated a breaking away from the evils of the past and an approach to freedom by means of constitutional government and the modification of laws. It is almost needless to say that the circulation of *Qanun* in Persia was banned, but a certain number of copies were smuggled into the country where they exercised a considerable influence on the constitutional movement.

The Persian constitutional movement was by no means limited to the intellectuals of the nation, as it was also strongly supported by the merchants as well as by many enlightened *mullas* and *mujtabids*,¹¹ whose great influence with the mass of the people contributed in no small measure to its ultimate success. The attitude of these spiritual leaders was all the more remarkable and praiseworthy as it must have been obvious to them that the establishment of a democratic regime would inevitably result in a curtailment of their power and influence.¹² There were, however, other members of the *'ulama* who at first supported the popular movement because they imagined that it might result in the establishment of a theocracy such as had existed for a time in Persia some four centuries earlier. When they discovered that this aim could not be realized, they withdrew their support and went into opposition.

As the Shah showed no signs of mending his ways, the cause of the reformers rapidly gathered strength. In consequence of the ever-increasing popular clamour and excitement, he was compelled, on the 14th Jumadi II, 1324 (August 5, 1906), to issue a *farman* (royal rescript) for the formation of an Assembly which was to "carry out the requisite deliberations and investigations on all necessary subjects connected with important affairs of the State and Empire and the public interest; and . . . render the necessary help and assistance to our Cabinet of Ministers in such reforms as are designed to promote the happiness and well-being of Persia: and shall, with complete confidence and security, through the instrumentality of the first Lord of the State, submit (their proposals to us), so that these, having been duly ratified by Us, may be carried into effect." It was likewise decreed in this *farman* that a code of regulations governing this Assembly was to be prepared.¹³

In virtue of the concluding portion of this *farman*, the regulations for the National Consultative Assembly (*Majlis-i-shura-yi-milli*, usually termed 'the Majlis' for short) were drafted and embodied in the Electoral Law (*Nizam-Nameh-yi-Intikhabat*), which was prepared with

11. A *mujtabid* is, literally, "one who strives," that is to say, one who exerts himself to the utmost to acquire knowledge of the religious law and so become competent to give judgment in cases governed by it. It is noteworthy that there is a considerable difference between the status of the Sunni and the Shi'a *mujtabids*, the power and influence of the latter being appreciably greater. The Sunnis hold that there have been only four "absolute" *mujtabids*, namely, the founders of the four legal schools; the Shi'a, on the other hand, still have "absolute" *mujtabids* who, in theory at any rate, can criticize or even control the acts of the Shah, whom they regard as merely the preserver of order until the advent of the Imam Mahdi, the "Hidden Imam," at the end of the world.

12. Symbolic of the broad-minded attitude of these religious leaders was the action of Mulla Kazim al-Khurasani in issuing subsequently a *fatwa* (i.e. decree or judgment) stating that it was unlawful to vex and humiliate the Zoroastrian community or other non-Muslims who were under the protection of Islam. For the text and translation of this *fatwa*, see Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 421-22.

13. For an English translation of this *farman*, see Browne, *op. cit.* pp. 353-354.

the utmost expedition and was submitted to the Shah for ratification on September 8, 1906; he duly ratified it on the following day.¹⁴

Despite the fact that the elections were still by no means completed, the Assembly met for the first time on October 7, 1906. It was felt most strongly that the deputies should embark on their tasks with the minimum of delay lest the Shah should change his mind and rescind the *farman*. The Majlis soon showed that it was to be no mere instrument of the royal will, for one of its first acts was to veto a proposed loan of £400,000 which Great Britain and Russia were to make to Persia in equal proportions, in order to provide the Shah with funds for fresh extravagances.

The most pressing duty of the Majlis was the drafting of the Fundamental Law of the Constitution (*Qanun-i-Asasi*). The chief aim of the framers of this Law was to deprive the monarch of his arbitrary powers and to ensure the functioning of the government of the country on democratic lines. The task of drawing up this Law, which was begun immediately by a committee of the Majlis, was completed before the end of October. The Shah, not surprisingly, procrastinated when the measure was submitted to him for ratification, but pressure of public opinion forced him to give it his approval on December 30, 1906. He was by this time in a dying condition, having had a paralytic stroke not long before; he died on January 4, 1907.

The Fundamental Law of the Constitution¹⁵ consists of 51 articles, articles relating to the constitution of the Majlis,¹⁶ its duties, limitations and rights, the drafting of laws and conditions regulating the formation of the Senate. No provision was made for the convening of the Senate

14. Under this law, the electors were divided into the following classes: (1) Princes and the Qajar tribe (the tribe to which the reigning family belonged); (2) Doctors of Divinity ('*ulama*') and students; (3) Nobles and Notables; (4) Merchants; (5) Landed proprietors and peasants; (6) Members of Trade Guilds. Electors had to be males of Persian nationality aged 25 or over. Candidates for election likewise had to be Persian subjects, but also had to be able to speak and write Persian. The system of election was first degree. An English translation of this law is given by Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-361. As this law subsequently proved to have defects, it was superseded by another on July 1, 1909. This law raised the minimum age of electors to thirty, and substituted the two degree system for the previous one. Besides stipulating that candidates for election must be of Persian nationality and literate, it explicitly stated (which had not been done in the previous law) that candidates must be Muslims "unless they represent the Christian, Zoroastrian or Jewish communities, in which case also they must be sound in their respective beliefs." For a translation of this law, see Browne, *op. cit.*, pp. 384-400.

15. The Persian text of this Law was first published in the Tehran newspaper *Habl al-Matin* (which was called after the well-known Calcutta paper); as the relevant copy is not available, the author has utilized the reprint of it in the Tehran periodical *Danish* ('Knowledge'), of March, 1949. For an English translation see Peaslee, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 396-403.

16. Up to 200 deputies were to be elected to the Majlis, but the total was fixed at first at 162. On October 22, 1911, an act was passed which reduced the number to 136; as will be shown later in this article, the total has recently been raised to the maximum of 200.

within a specified time, and it was laid down that, pending the convocation of that body, all bills that had been approved by the Majlis and had received the royal assent should have the force of law.

Naturally enough, the powers of the Shah were curtailed by a number of articles. Although he remained head of the State, he had to govern through his ministers who were responsible not to him but to Parliament. Moreover, by virtue of articles XVIII and XIX, the Majlis had control over the national finances. Obviously inspired by the Shah's action and that of his predecessor in concluding treaties or granting concessions merely with the object of pecuniary gain for themselves, article XXIV decreed that the conclusion of treaties and the granting of commercial, industrial, agricultural or any other concessions, whether to Persian or foreign nationals, shall be subject to the approval of the Majlis.¹⁷

As is invariably the case with written constitutions, it was soon found that the Fundamental Law was not comprehensive enough. Steps were accordingly taken to prepare a Supplementary Fundamental Law (*Qanun-i-asasi-yi-mutammim*). The work of drafting the new law was carried on under difficult conditions, as the new monarch, Muhammad 'Ali Shah, was intensely reactionary and was therefore hostile to the Majlis and, indeed, to the whole constitutional movement.¹⁸ Among those charged with the preparation of the law were Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh and another deputy for Tabriz. Although they had finished their task by May, 1907, it was not until October 7 that the Shah could be induced to give his assent to it.

The Supplementary Fundamental Law¹⁹ contains 107 articles concerning the rights of the Persian nation, the powers of the realm and their employment, the rights of the members of the Majlis and Senate, the vesting of the monarchy in Muhammad 'Ali Shah and his successors of the Qajar line,²⁰ the rights of the throne, the powers and obligations of ministers, the powers of the tribunals of justice, the provincial and departmental councils (*anjumans*), the public finances and the army.

17. Dr. Feuvrier, the French physician of Nasir ad-Din Shah, stated in his *Trois Ans à la Cour de Perse*, (Paris 1906), p. 211, "De concession à concession, la Perse sera bientôt toute entière entre les mains des étrangers." Nevertheless, some concessions, such as oil concession granted to W. K. D'Arcy in 1901, were to prove highly beneficial to the country.

18. He was much under Russian influence, having had a tutor of that nationality. As stated by Yahya Daulatabadi in his *Ta'rikh-i-Mu'asir* ('Contemporary History'), Tehran, 1957, Vol. II, p. 99, the Shah determined from the very outset of his reign to free himself "from the chains and shackles imposed by the Constitution."

19. The Persian text was first published in No. 138 of the *Habl al-Matin* of October 11, 1907. For an English translation see Peaslee, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 403-411 (Peaslee wrongly gives the date of the promulgation of this Law as October 8; it should be the previous day).

20. Articles XXXVI, XXXVII and XXXVIII. These articles were superseded by others when Reza Shah came to the throne in 1925; see p. 384 and 385.

As regards the position of the Shah, it is significant that, in Article XXXV, it was laid down that: "The sovereignty is a trust, as a Divine gift, confided by the people (*millat*) to the person of the Shah." Moreover, in article XXXIX it was decreed that no monarch could ascend the throne unless, before his coronation, he appeared before the Majlis, in the presence of its members and of those of the Senate and of the Council of Ministers, and undertook on oath to "preserve the independence of Persia, safeguard and protect the frontiers of my kingdom and the rights of my people, observe the Fundamental Laws of the Persian Constitution, rule in accordance with the established laws of sovereignty, endeavour to promote the Ja'fari doctrine of the sect of the Twelve Imams and shall in all my deeds and actions consider God (may his state be glorified), from Whom alone is aid derived, and seek help from the holy spirits of the saints of Islam to serve the progress of Persia."

The following further points are of interest:

(1) The powers of the realm, which (under article XXVI) are all derived from the people, are all, under the next article, divided into the three categories of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Article XXVIII, which clearly reflects the ideas of Montesquieu,²¹ decrees that these powers shall always be separated from one another.

(2) Article XXXII states that if a Deputy is given any salaried post in the service of one of the departments of the Government, he shall cease to be a member of the Majlis and that, if he wishes to renew his membership, he must resign his appointment and seek reelection.

(3) The control of the Majlis over financial matters was strengthened by article XCVI which laid down that it is to fix and approve the budget every year by a majority of votes. Supervision over the national expenditure is to be exercised by a financial commission whose members are to be appointed by the Majlis.

(4) Articles LVIII to LXX are concerned with the position, duties and responsibilities of ministers. These articles provide, *inter alia*, that:

(a) Every minister must be of the Islamic faith and be of Persian birth and nationality (article LVIII).

(b) Ministers are responsible to the two Houses and must appear before them when required. (Here it should be noted that ministers are entitled by article XXXI of the original Fundamental Law to be present at sessions of the Majlis and to listen to debates; should they feel it necessary to speak, they may do so on obtaining the Speaker's permission.)

21. For Montesquieu's arguments in favor of the separation of these powers, see his *L'Esprit des Loix* in the London edition of his *Oeuvres*, Vol. I, p. 208.

(c) As provided in article LXIV, no minister can divest himself of his responsibility by pleading oral or written orders from the Shah.

(d) In consequence of the principle of the separation of powers enunciated in article XXVIII and also the provisions of article XXXII (see (2) above), no member of the Majlis can be a minister; should he be given a ministerial post, he must immediately resign his seat in the House.²² Moreover, under article LXVIII no minister may accept a salaried office other than his own.

(e) Ministers, besides being individually responsible for the affairs of their own ministries, are also collectively responsible to the two Houses for all matters of a public character (article LXI).

(f) If the Majlis or Senate shall, by an absolute majority, declare itself dissatisfied with the cabinet or with a particular minister, that cabinet or minister, shall resign (article LXVII).

(g) The Majlis or Senate can call ministers to account or bring them to trial (article LXV).²³

(5) Article I laid down that the official religion of Persia is Islam, according to the doctrine of the *Ithna 'Ashariyya* (i.e. the Sh'ia sect of the Twelve Imams). The following article prescribes that the Majlis may pass no law that is at variance with the sacred rules (*qawa'id*) of Islam or the laws established by the Prophet Muhammad. It was therefore decreed that it was for the learned theologians (*'ulama*) to determine whether or not such laws as might be proposed by the Majlis were or were not in conformity with the rules and laws of Islam, and that a committee was to be set up consisting of not less than five *mujtahids* or other devout theologians, cognizant also of the requirements of the age. These five learned persons were to be designated by the Majlis from among twenty persons possessing the required attributes either by unanimous acclamation or by vote. Having been thus selected, the committee of five were "carefully to discuss and consider all matters proposed in the Assembly, and to reject or repudiate wholly or in part, any such proposal which is at variance with the sacred rules (*qawa'id*) of Islam, so that it shall not obtain the title of legality. In such matters the decision of this council of *'ulama* shall be followed and obeyed, and this article shall continue unchanged until the appearance of . . . the Proof of the Age (i.e. the Imam Mahdi at the end of the world)."²⁴

22. Although it is not specifically stated in the Laws, this prohibition is held to apply also in the case of Senators. The author has to thank Dr. M. Fartash for this information.

23. These provisions governing the position and duties of ministers are very similar to those in the Belgian Constitution (article LXXXVI to XCI), except that, as there is no separation of powers in Belgium, there is nothing to debar ministers from being members of either the House of Representatives or the Senate. The explanation of this and other points of similarity in the Persian and Belgian Constitution lies in the fact that the latter was largely used as a model for the former; in this connection see p. 382.

24. In Pakistan, if any conflict arises between the secular and religious laws, the matter is referred to the Supreme Court for adjudication.

It is noteworthy that, at some date during the reign of Reza Shah, the provision of this article ceased to be regarded as operative.²⁵ This development was doubtless due to Reza Shah himself, who took every opportunity of curbing the power and influence of the *mullas* and *mujtabids*. So far as is known, this council has never been revived; however, as the article has not been repealed, the possibility remains that the council might some day be brought into existence again, when it might challenge the legality of any legislation passed while it was in abeyance.

(6) As for the people of Persia, they are, under article VIII, equal before the law. In virtue of the next article they are protected and safeguarded in respect of their persons, goods, houses and honour from every kind of interference and no one shall molest them save in such case and in such manner as the law and its procedure shall determine.

(7) Under article XLIX it is the Shah's prerogative to issue decrees and orders for giving effect to the laws, but he can never suspend or postpone their execution.²⁶

(8) Article LXXI to LXXXIX are concerned with the courts of justice;²⁷ the salient features of these articles are as follows:

(a) Article LXXI. The High Court of Justice and the judicial courts are the sole tribunals that are competent for (the redress of) public affairs, while judgment in all matters relating to the religious law (*shari'*) is invested in the *mujtabids* possessing the necessary qualifications for the function.

(b) Article LXXIII. The civil tribunals shall be established by the law, and no one may, under any pretext, establish them in a manner contrary to its provisions.

(c) Article LXXVI. All proceedings of the courts shall be in public, save in cases where publicity would be harmful to public order or public morality.

(d) Article LXXX. The president and members of the judicial tribunals shall be chosen in accordance with the procedure established by law and shall be appointed by royal decree.

(e) Article LXXXII. The functions of judges of the judicial tribunals shall not be changed without their consent.²⁸

25. See M. Nakhai, *op. cit.*, p. 146: 'En fait, ce corps religieux n'existe plus depuis plusieurs années.' This statement is confirmed by R. Aghababian in his *Législation Iranienne Actuelle intéressant les Etrangers et les Iraniens à l'Etranger* (Tehran, 1939), p. 167.

It is noteworthy that in November 1922 the 'ulama demanded, *inter alia*, representation in the Majlis in accordance with this article. Five years later, they again claimed this right, alleging that, without such representation, the legislation passed by the Majlis was unconstitutional. On each occasion they obtained nothing more from the Government than a vague promise of redress.

26. This article was amended in 1957; see p. 388.

27. As in the case of the regulations regarding ministers, there are many points of similarity between these articles and those in the corresponding section of the Belgian Constitution.

28. A law interpreting the provisions of this article was brought into force on September 4, 1931; for a translation, see R. Aghababian, *Législation Iranienne Actuelle* (Second edition, Paris, 1951), Vol. II, p. 23.

(9) Article XV provides that no property shall be removed from the control of its owner save by order of the law, while the following one ordains that the confiscation of the property or possessions of any person under the title of punishment or retribution is forbidden except by order of the law.

(10) Foreigners on Persian soil are, in virtue of article VI, guaranteed and protected save in such cases as the laws of the land except.²⁹

(11) Articles CIV to CVII relate to the Army. Under article CVI no foreign troops will be allowed to serve the Government nor will they be allowed either to reside in any part of the country or to pass through or into the country save in accordance with the law. This article was designed to prevent the Shah from carrying out a *coup d'état* with the aid of the Russians.³⁰

Before proceeding further, something must be said of the men who had drafted the two Fundamental Laws. They were all members of the special committee of the Majlis which had been formed for this purpose and they had all previously taken part in the campaign for the Constitution. Moreover, as already indicated, most of them had spent much time in Western Europe where they had made themselves acquainted with political institutions there. An outstanding member of this drafting committee was Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh, one of the deputies for Tabriz. In a speech which he made in London to the Central Asian Society on November 11, 1908, he explained that the code of laws which he and his fellow-members of the Majlis committee had drawn up had been based largely on Belgian constitutional law, partly on French law and to some extent on that prevalent in Bulgaria.³¹ He made no reference to Montesquieu, but, as already pointed out, the influence of *L'Esprit des Lois* is clearly discernible in article XXVIII of the Supplementary Fundamental Law which decreed the separation of the powers of the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.

Although those responsible for the drafting of the Persian Constitutional Laws had been greatly influenced by those in force in Western Europe, they failed to introduce any system of judicial review of the

29. Foreigners in Persia then and for some time after employed certain extra-territorial privileges under the Capitulations. For their position after the abrogation of the Capitulations in 1928, see Dr. A. Matine-Daftary, *La Suppression des Capitulations en Perse*, (Paris, 1930), pp. 229-254. It was symbolic of the rebirth of Persian nationalism under the vigorous rule of Reza that their century-old rights were abolished.

30. As will be shown on p. 383, this article failed to prevent the Shah from taking such action in June, 1908.

31. This speech was made in the course of the discussion following Professor Browne's address to the Society entitled "The Persian Constitutionalists" published in its *Proceedings*, London, 1909.

constitutionality of legislative acts. Had they done so, it is probable that, in quite recent times, Dr. Musaddiq would have found it much harder to obtain parliamentary sanction for his special powers.

Notwithstanding the fact that Muhammad 'Ali Shah had solemnly sworn to protect and preserve the Constitution, he did not scruple to dissolve the Majlis by forcible means on June 23, 1908. He carried out this drastic step by means of his Cossack Brigade which, despite the provisions of article CVI of the Supplementary Fundamental Law, was commanded by a Colonel Liakhov, an officer seconded from the Russian Army. Moreover, the artillery which opened fire on the Majlis building was directed by other Russian officers in the Shah's service. Many of the deputies were killed in the bombardment; of those who survived, some were captured and put to death, while others, including Taqizadeh, escaped and sought sanctuary in the British Legation. Then ensued the period known as the *Istibdad-i-saghir* ('the lesser autocracy'), when the Shah, untrammelled by parliamentary control, ruled as the despot he really was. His excesses, however, caused practically the whole nation to rally to the cause of the Constitutionalists who eventually triumphed and forced him to abdicate in favor of his young son Ahmad.

Soon after Ahmad Shah's accession, the second Majlis was elected. Its course, however, did not run smooth, as the ex-Shah, though in exile, continually intrigued against it. In the end, his Russian allies, by means of threats and actual invasion, forcibly dissolved it on December 24, 1911. The Russians, however, failed to secure Muhammad 'Ali's reinstatement as Shah.³²

When the young Ahmad Shah grew up, he proved to be no despot, but merely a *roi fainéant*. He showed no interest in affairs of state and preferred to fritter away his time and resources in France.

In 1921 the forceful and capable Reza Khan began his spectacular rise to power when, by his *coup d'état*, he overthrew the government and became Minister of War. Soon after, he made himself *de facto* ruler of the country. These developments coincided with a general feeling of disillusionment among the people in regard to the monarchical principle which was caused by the character and behavior of the last three rulers of the Qajar line. Many therefore tended to favor the abolition of the monarchy in favor of a republic, with Reza Khan as the first president. However, the Turks' abolition of the Caliphate and the other steps that they were taking to divest Islam of much of its traditional character produced a strong reaction in Persia among the more conservative-

32. Only an outline of these events has been given. For details, see Browne, *The Persian Revolution, 1905-1909* and other works quoted, Nakhai, *op. cit.*, Ahmad Kasravi, *Ta'rikh-i-Masbruta-yi-Iran* (History of the Persian Constitution), Tehran, 1947, and Yahya Daulatabadi, *op. cit.*, Vol. II.

minded elements and the religious leaders, the latter fearing lest, if a republic came into being, similar action against Islamic institutions might be taken as in Turkey. Realizing which way the tide was running, Reza Khan, after making a show of consulting the *'ulama*, declared that a republic was contrary to the tenets of Islam and acquiesced in the retention of the monarchy—with himself as Shah.

The problem now confronting Reza Khan and his adherents was how to get rid of the Shah without openly violating the Constitution. As it was considered to be extremely unlikely that the Shah would abdicate, it was therefore necessary to modify the Fundamental Laws. Here the difficulty at once arose that there was at that time no provision in either of these Laws for their amendment. It was at first proposed to hold a referendum for this purpose; however, as this course was found to be impracticable, it was decided to make the necessary changes in the Laws by means of a specially convened Constituent Assembly (*Majlis-i-Mu'assisan*). This Assembly was to consist of twice the number of the Deputies in the Majlis, all of whom were to be eligible for election.

On October 31, 1925, the Majlis, by a majority of eighty, formally declared that the rule of the Qajar dynasty was terminated and that a Constituent Assembly was to be convened for the purpose of changing the Laws to the required extent and for declaring the new form of Government. Furthermore, it declared that, in the meantime, the provisional government of the country was to be entrusted to Reza Khan.

The elections for the Constituent Assembly having been duly held, Reza Khan opened it on December 6. Six days later, it passed, by 257 votes to three, a single-article act which suppressed articles XXXVI, XXXVII and XXXVIII of the Supplementary Laws and substituted the following three articles for them:³³

Article XXXVI. The constitutional sovereignty of Persia is entrusted by the people through the Constituent Assembly to His Imperial Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi. It shall pass to his male descendants, generation by generation.

Article XXXVII. The title of Crown Prince shall belong to the eldest son of the Shah whose mother shall be of Persian origin. If the Shah has no male issue, the Crown Prince shall be proposed by him and approved by the Majlis, provided that the said heir shall not belong to the Qajar family. Nevertheless, as soon as a son is born to the Shah, he shall have the title of Crown Prince by right.³⁴

33. The text of this act was published in *Danish* in June, 1949.

34. Peaslee's version of this article leaves a good deal to be desired. For one thing, he omits the last sentence altogether. A much more reliable translation is given by R. Aghababian, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 20.

Article XXXVIII. On the transmission of the Crown, the Crown Prince cannot exercise personally the sovereign powers until he is twenty solar (*shamsi*) years of age.³⁵ If he has not yet attained that age, a regent, who shall not belong to the Qajar family, shall be appointed by the Majlis.

On the same day that this act was passed, Reza Khan became Shah of Persia.

Reza Shah made no further changes in the Constitutional Laws during his reign. He kept the Majlis in being, but moulded it into a docile instrument for carrying out his wishes; he thus had no reason for desiring to modify or abrogate the Fundamental Laws.

For a number of years after the accession of H.I.M. Muhammad Reza Pahlavi, the present Shah, in 1941, it was not deemed necessary to make any change in or addition to the Constitutional Laws. However, in the early post-war period the manner in which the Majlis was then conducting its affairs brought about a change in the situation. There were many futile and inconclusive debates due to frequent interpellations and also to filibustering tactics by a handful of deputies;³⁶ in this way measures of great importance were often held up. Sometimes certain members would achieve this end merely by absenting themselves from the House, thus depriving it of a quorum.³⁷ It came to be felt in responsible circles that the three governmental powers had reached a state of disequilibrium; in other words, the Majlis had become too powerful as compared with the executive. It was therefore decided to remedy this state of affairs not only by convening the Senate³⁸ (provision for which existed under articles XLIII to XLV of the original Fundamental Law), but also by making certain changes in the Laws themselves.

In accordance with this decision, the Shah announced, on February 24, 1949, that he proposed to convene a Constituent Assembly for the purpose of drafting the procedures for revising the Constitution (for which there are still no legal provision) and also of revising article

35. Here again Peaslee's version is defective, as he omits the word 'solar.' As the lunar year is eleven days shorter than the solar one, the difference in the course of twenty years would amount to nearly seven and a half months.

36. The Government of Muhammad Sa'id Maragha'i subsequently introduced the bill for the ratification of the Supplementary Agreement of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (now the British Petroleum Company) shortly before the end of the term of the Majlis. By the use of filibustering methods the supporters of Dr. Musaddiq successfully prevented any consideration of the bill before the end of the session and the dissolution of the House. For the text of the Agreement, see *Cmd. 8425* p. 19.

37. Under article VII of the original Fundamental Law two-thirds of the deputies had to be present at the beginning of a debate, three-quarters had to be present when a vote was taken, and the majority was to be obtained only when more than half of those present recorded their votes. This article was amended in 1957. See p. 388.

38. As the Shah has the right to nominate thirty out of the sixty members of the Senate, it follows that that body is more likely to be influenced by his wishes than is the Majlis.

XLVIII of the original Fundamental Law so as to empower him to dissolve the Majlis at the request of the Government and to call for fresh elections.³⁹

In a debate in the Majlis on the subject of the Shah's announcement, it was agreed that the action he proposed was acceptable to the people of the country and was in the national interest. Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh stated that the Fundamental Laws had been drafted in haste and that they were in need of revision and completion; as he had been so closely concerned with the drafting of these Laws and with all subsequent developments relating thereto, he was certainly well qualified to express such an opinion. The Prime Minister, Muhammad Sa'id, thereupon submitted a petition to the Shah requesting him to issue a *farman* for the convening of the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of:

- (1) Revising article XLVIII of the original Fundamental Law.
- (2) The drafting and approval of an additional article for determining the manner of revising the Fundamental Laws.

The Shah issued the necessary *farman* on March 1, 1949, and the elections for the Constituent Assembly were duly held. After their completion, the Shah formally opened the Assembly on April 21.

At its third session, on May 7, the Assembly passed, by 230 votes to 1, the additional article (*asl-i-ilbaqi*) and the revised article XLVIII of the Fundamental Law. This additional article provides that, whenever the two Houses decide independently of each other, each by a two-thirds majority, to revise one or more of the articles of the Fundamental Laws and this decision is approved by the Shah, a Constituent Assembly shall be convened for this express purpose with a membership equal to the total membership of the two Houses. A majority in this Assembly is to be constituted by the votes of not less than two-thirds of all its members. It is expressly stated that this provision shall not include the revision of the articles relating either to the religion of the country or to the constitutional monarchy, which are always to remain unchanged. This additional article also decreed that, on one occasion only, a joint session of the two Houses, sitting as Congress, should be held in order to amend articles IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII of the Fundamental Law and article XLIX of the Supplemental Fundamental Law. The President of the Senate was to preside over this session of Congress. The necessary attention was to be made an approval by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the two Houses.

39. As the law then stood, the Shah could exercise this right only when the Majlis had failed to approve a measure that had been passed by the Senate, after the difference had been considered by a joint Assembly convened for that purpose, and the Senate and the Council of Ministers had, independently of each other, put forward a recommendation for the dissolution of the Majlis.

Article XLVIII of the Fundamental Law, as revised on this occasion, gives the Shah power to dissolve either or both of the Houses, but he must specify his reason for so doing in the *farman* ordering the dissolution and he must at the same time order new elections to be held. Moreover, in order to prevent possible misuse of this power, it is stated that the new House or Houses shall not be dissolved for the same reason. This article also decrees that if a measure has been approved by the Senate, but has been rejected by the Majlis, an Assembly with a membership equal to that of the two Houses shall be elected by them to consider and report on the difference between them. If both Houses approve the report, it shall be submitted to the Shah for signature. If no agreement is reached by the two Houses on this report, the point or points of difference shall be referred to the Shah who shall, if he agrees with the view held by the Majlis, order the enactment of the bill. Should he not agree, consideration of the bill is to be suspended for six months, at the end of which time it may, if necessary, be resubmitted in either of the two Houses. Lastly, the original article XLVIII and any others of the Fundamental Law or the Supplementary Fundamental Law which may conflict with this article are cancelled.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, on May 4, the Majlis had passed an act relating to the composition of the Senate, laying down the procedure for the election of Senators, fixing its life at six years and stipulating that all Senators must be of the Muslim faith. The first Senate was convened on February 9, 1950. It consisted of sixty Senators; thirty nominated by the Shah and thirty elected by the nation.

In the summer of 1952 a difference arose between the two Houses. Although the Senate had, on August 2, given Dr. Musaddiq a vote of confidence after his return to power in the previous month, and had, nine days later, approved the bill for conferring special powers on him, it had, on the other hand, rejected the bills which the Majlis had passed for the liberation of General Razmara's assassin⁴¹ and for the confiscation of the property of Qavam as-Saltaneh.⁴²

It was doubtless due to this clash between the Houses that the Majlis, on October 23, 1952, passed a bill limiting the term of the Senate to two years so as to conform to its own term. As the Senate had then been in

40. The text of the additional article and of the revised article XLVIII was published in the Tehran paper *Ittila'at* No. 6924 on May 4, 1949. For an English translation, see Peaslee, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 401-402. See also "Recent Constitutional Changes in Iran," *Royal Central Asian Journal*, October 1949, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 265-266.

41. General Razmara was assassinated on March 7, 1951.

42. Qavam as-Saltaneh, a veteran statesman and former Prime Minister, had displaced Dr. Musaddiq in that capacity on July 17, 1952, but had been ousted from power and thrown into prison by his rival only four days later.

existence for over two years, it followed that it would be dissolved immediately on the bill becoming law. Many of the Senators vehemently opposed this bill, which was not approved by the Shah until after the fall of Dr. Musaddiq in the following year.⁴³

It was not until May 8, 1957, that Congress, that is, the joint meeting of the Majlis and the Senate, was convened for the express purpose of amending the articles of the Fundamental and Supplementary Fundamental Laws that had been specified in the additional article approved in 1949.⁴⁴ In the course of this session, which lasted until May 19, the following amendments were made:

(1) Article IV of the Fundamental Law was reversed so that the number of Deputies in the Majlis was raised from 136 to the maximum figure of 200.

(2) Article V was revised so as to extend the term of the Majlis from two years to four; before the expiry of this period, new elections are to be held. Each session is to begin after the credentials of more than half of the newly elected Members have been approved.

(3) The session of the Majlis is to be inaugurated when two-thirds of the Deputies are present in the capital.

(4) In virtue of article VII, as amended, debates can begin when any number of Deputies are present, but no vote can be taken until more than half are in the capital. A majority is determined by the votes of more than half of the Deputies.

(5) Article XLIX of the Supplementary Fundamental Law, as already stated, provided that the issuing of decrees for the execution of laws is one of the royal prerogatives. In the revised article this provision has been retained, but it contains additional wording to the effect that, should the Shah consider it necessary that any financial bill passed by the Majlis should be revised, he may refer it back to that body for revision; if, however, the Majlis confirms its former decision by a majority of at least three-quarters of those present in the capital, His Majesty must grant his assent.

Article VIII of the Fundamental Law, although it was among those that were to be revised on this occasion, was not, in fact, altered in any way.

As Congress cannot be convened again for the purpose of effecting changes in the Constitutional Laws, the procedure laid down in the first part of the additional article to the Supplementary Fundamental Law will have to be followed, should it be found necessary to make any further modifications in them in the future. There seems, however, to be little or no likelihood of any changes being made in the Laws in the immediate future.

43. At the close of 1953, it was decided to re-establish the six-year period as the term of the Senate. The author is indebted to Dr. Fartash for this information and also for the details of the amendments to the Fundamental Laws that were passed in 1957.

44. See above, p. 386.

COLLAPSE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

Khalid Bin Sayeed

PARLIAMENTARY democracy is both a form of government and a way of life. It has worked well among homogeneous communities which can afford to bicker without resorting to violence or civil war, or can do so at a time when the ambitions of others concerning them are relatively few. Its form of government is the constitutional expression of certain ideals in which the community believes. Consent of the people is the bedrock on which the whole edifice of democracy has been reared.

Those who have watched Pakistan's political history are led to ask whether democracy is part and parcel of the Pakistani way of life. There have been many occasions when heads at the Center and in the Provinces flouted some of the fundamental conventions of parliamentary government and resorted to arbitrary action. But there was no leader or party bold enough to rally the people to defend the sovereignty of the parliament. Perhaps people's anger could not be aroused for such causes. Nor did Pakistanis seem to be capable of carrying on political debates without tearing apart the fabric of the state. Both physically and culturally, Pakistan is a heterogeneous community brought together because its people, adherents of Islam, refused to be absorbed by the wider Hindu culture of India. Soon after Pakistani leaders were assured of the fact that they had a separate state and that Hindus would no longer be able to dominate them, they began a decade of squabbles.

It cannot be said that Pakistan lacked strong leaders. There were too many of them and they were too strong for each other. What there often seemed to be was a total lack of loyalty to any ideal or set of principles or even to the country on the part of these party leaders. Pakistan was very much like Hobbes' state of nature where every political or provincial group fought against every other group. It was a ceaseless and ruthless struggle for power. Most of the leaders thought of themselves, their families, or at best their provincial groups and did not give a second thought to Pakistan. Pakistan needed a desperate remedy for this malady.

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And martial law was the Leviathan which emerged to maintain law and order and public good at the point of the sword.

The Muslim League, which took credit for establishing Pakistan, was essentially a party which lived not by program or organization, but by its leaders. After Muhammad Ali Jinnah's death, it languished as a coalition of Punjabi-Bengali groups, with the Frontier and Sindi groups sulking on the sidelines. There was no one to challenge Liaqat Ali Khan and, with his enormous prestige, he could at least prevent the Punjabis and Bengalis from flying at each other's throats.

After Liaqat's assassination in October 1951, one witnesses a continuous conflict both in the Cabinet and in the Constituent Assembly between the Punjabis and the Bengalis. Until the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in October 1954, the Bengalis had not only a majority in the Muslim League Parliamentary Party, but had also secured the support of the Sind and Frontier groups. Punjabis, though in the minority, had both the Civil Servants and the Governor General on their side. The Punjabi Governor General, Ghulam Mohammad, could be relied upon to frustrate Bengali attempts to foist any constitution on the country which was likely to weaken the influence and power of the Punjabis. But Ghulam Mohammad, in dismissing Khwaja Nazimuddin (see *List of Persons* at end of article for this and other names) in April 1953, and particularly in dissolving the Constituent Assembly in 1954, had not merely overstepped his normal constitutional authority, but in doing so had to seek the support of the Army. *Dawn's* comments on what had happened are not too exaggerated:

There have indeed been times—such as that October night in 1954—when, with a General to the right of him and a General to the left of him, a half-mad Governor General imposed upon a captured Prime Minister the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and the virtual setting up of a semi-dictatorial Executive.¹

Recently General Mohammad Ayub Khan himself has revealed that Ghulam Mohammad had asked him several times to take over the country.² After the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in October 1954, the Army was always in the background, holding its striking power in abeyance.

In October 1955, the Punjabi group, led by Chaudhri Mohamad Ali, Gurmani and Daultana, brought about the integration of West Pakistan. Bengalis had often been charged not only with using their majority against the Punjabis, but dividing West Pakistan itself by supporting the

1. Editorial, "Revolution," *Dawn* (Karachi daily), August 11, 1957.

2. General Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Message to the Nation* (Karachi: Ferozsons), October 8, 1958, pp. 4-5.

Sind and Frontier groups against Punjab. Thus, one of the principal benefits of the One Unit scheme was that East Bengal would be prevented from playing "the small brother's big brother role" of dividing West Pakistan.

The strategy used in integrating West Pakistan was spelled out in the famous documents drafted by Daultana. In these documents could be found the most explicit version of Pakistani Machiavellianism. A few extracts will suffice:

In fact the real merit of the present régime is that it can hold a pistol to achieve political, constitutional agreement.

... It would be fatal to launch our political campaign if, for a period, opposition is not effectively stilled, and a time gained for our voice to gain volume amidst surrounding silence.

Punjab must be kept quiet. The folly of our friends must be checked. At a later stage Punjab will have to take the lead. At that time I hope an effective intelligent Punjab leadership will have been put in place both at the Centre and at Lahore.³

Daultana had argued that a judicious mixture of consent and force should be used in integrating the province of West Pakistan. "With one voice I assert that One Unit can only be obtained and preserved with consent, with the other I demand that all opposition must be stilled."⁴ But in the triumvirate of Ghulam Mohammad, Gurmani and Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, force was bound to win over persuasion by a heavy margin. Pirzada and Noon were dismissed according to the plan laid down in the documents. But Rashid, who, the documents urged, should be handled carefully because he was the Chief Minister of a province where Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was popular, was also arbitrarily dismissed and thereby antagonized. Thus, it seemed that the plan had gone away. Instead of silencing opposition, it had raised a storm. The gulf created between Punjab, on one hand, and Sind and the Frontier, on the other, by these political animosities was further widened by the excessively centralized administrative machinery that came into being in Lahore. The *Report of the Council for Administration of West Pakistan* had warned: "As the new Province of West Pakistan would be a Province of long distances, care is to be taken that the public does not have to travel long distances to the Provincial Capital for redress of their grievances."⁵ This warning presumably went unheeded.

3. These extracts have been taken from Documents A, B, and C and Document "X". They were examined by a Committee of the Constituent Assembly and quoted in the Assembly by several Members in the debate on the Establishment of West Pakistan Bill. *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates*, 1955, Vol. I, pp. 508-513 and pp. 612-629.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Report of the Council for Administration of West Pakistan* (Lahore), February, 1955.

Chaudri Mohamad Ali was successful in presenting the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in March 1956. It was supposed to be a compromise, but it left most of the major problems of Pakistan unresolved. West Pakistan was united, no doubt, into a single province, in order to present a united front to East Bengal and persuade the Bengalis to accept parity. But in the second Parliament of Pakistan, Punjabi-Pathan and Punjabi-Sindi antagonism became as serious as the normal East Pakistan versus West Pakistan conflict. The President's powers were carefully circumscribed in order to prevent him from resorting to arbitrary action under the cloak of reserve powers. But his discretionary powers with regard to the dismissal and appointment of a Prime Minister left him with enormous initiative, the more so because there was no majority party in the National Assembly. As regards the federal problem, it was by no means certain that the Bengali demand for provincial autonomy and equitable distribution of financial resources between the two parts of Pakistan had been satisfied. In the words of Abul Mansur Ahmad, the basic problem of Pakistan, namely, that of creating one state out of two countries and one nation out of two peoples still remained unsolved.⁶

When the West Pakistan province came into being in October 1955, it was expected that the Muslim League would continue as the majority and the cementing force in West Pakistan. The central administrators had their own ideas about how a party should function. To them it was a mere instrument of their will and not a body to which they were responsible. One provincial Minister had given place to another in the former provinces of West Pakistan, but the Muslim League had continued to support who ever was foisted on the province by the Government. The Muslim League, true to form, had also accepted Dr. Khan Sahib as the Chief Minister of West Pakistan.

The election of Sardar Abdur Rabb Nishtar as President of the Muslim League upset the calculation of administrators like Iskander Mirza, Chaudhri Mohamad Ali and Gurmani. Nishtar belonged to the old guard of the Muslim League who believed that the party should decide on major policy matters and the Government should merely carry out the instructions of the party. He resented the fact that Dr. Khan Sahib, an ex-Congressite opponent of his from the Frontier, was being placed as Chief Minister of West Pakistan by the Central administrators. The Muslim League, therefore, decided to fight rather than face painless death by becoming a handmaiden of the administrators. The West Pakistan Muslim League Parliamentary Party called upon Dr. Khan Sahib first to join the Muslim League. Dr. Khan Sahib refused. Thereupon, the Parliamentary

6. *Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates*, Vol. I, p. 1816.

Party in April 1956, called upon Dr. Khan Sahib's Cabinet Ministers to resign from the Cabinet or face expulsion from the party. Dr. Khan Sahib, backed by Governor Gurmani and Governor General Iskander Mirza, formed the Republican Party. The result was that the strength of the Muslim League, which claimed an overwhelming majority in the House, was soon reduced to an equal position with the newly formed Republican Party. Men like Pirzada, Rashid and Noon had been dismissed by the Governor General, who had suspected them of opposing the One Unit plan. Now they saw the utter futility of opposing the Governor General and his group and joined the Republican Party which had the Government's blessing.

There was an alternative way of looking at the same situation. The West Pakistan Assembly was divided into two rival landlord factions. The Republican Party was supported by landowners like Qizilbash, Noons, Tiwanas, the Legharis and the Gilenis from old Punjab. All these families were sworn enemies of the Daultana group. They were also joined by Hasan Mahmood and the Lalekha family of Bahawalpur, Hoti from the Frontier, Talpur, Pirzada, and the supporters of the Pir of Pagaro from Sind. Daultana enjoyed support from landowners from Multan from where he came, Qureshis from Sargodha to whom he was related, and the Joya tribe to which he belonged and which existed along both sides of the Sutlej River.⁷ Daultana was also supported by the new middle class and urban interests in Punjab.

What is significant is that the Punjab group in the West Pakistan Assembly was hopelessly divided and members from this group were leading both the Republican and Muslim League parties. The Punjab group, both in the Muslim League and in the Republican Party, stood firmly in favor of retaining the existing, integrated West Pakistan Province. The National Awami Party, led by G. M. Syed of Sind and a few supporters of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, were prepared to support any party which would agree to the breaking up of the West Pakistan province into its former constituencies. The National Awami Party held the balance in the Assembly and could bring about the defeat of any Government in the House by supporting the Opposition. Both the Muslim Leaguers and the Republicans were forced to woo the support of this group in order to command majority support in the House. Thus, when the Muslim Leaguers agreed, in March 1957, to support the demand of the National

7. The writer is not aware of any study of Pakistan which throws any light on this highly important aspect of Pakistan's politics, namely, the support that politicians derive from their tenants and tribes. Even Chaudhri Mohamad Ali, who is not a landlord, was campaigning for support before martial law in areas where his tribe, Arains, were concentrated, such as Lyallpur and Bahawalpur.

Awami Party that West Pakistan Province should be broken up into its former constituent parts, the Republican Government lost majority support. The Government, however, was saved by the intervention of President Mirza, who imposed Section 193 (allowing the President, under some circumstances, to assume direct rule) on the province. When the Republicans were later restored to power, they in their turn were prepared to support the demand of the National Awami Party in order to save themselves from another defeat. The result was that the Assembly was reduced to a steady see-saw between the two rival groups. Ministers were more busy gathering support from members than in day-to-day administration. In order to get support, they had to bribe members with ministries or deputy ministerships, or resort to other corrupt practices, such as the granting of import licenses to members of the West Pakistan Assembly. Thus, in January 1957, just before the commencement of the Assembly session, fourteen members from the Frontier region were given import licenses.⁸ It was well known that none of these members was a trader. The first two Chief Ministers, Dr. Khan Sahib and Sardar Rashid, both Pathans, were not very skilled in the game of political bribery and party manoeuvres and therefore gave way to Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, one of the big Punjab landowners and a former Unionist.

When the leaders of the National Awami Party found that neither of the two parties, the Muslim League or the Republican Party, was seriously interested in supporting their demand for the breaking up of the West Pakistan Province, they turned their attention to building up solid support in smaller provinces like Sind and the Frontier where One Unit had become unpopular. Thus, G. M. Syed formed an alliance with big landowners of Sind, such as the Pir of Pagaro, Talpur, and Khuhro to work for the dissolution of One Unit and its reconstruction into four or more autonomous provinces.⁹ Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan called upon Pathans belonging to all parties to unite and fight against One Unit which he declared "symbolised the slavery of the Pathans."¹⁰ The Republican Party's manifesto on the question of One Unit was a document of pure opportunism. It enabled Republicans to oppose One Unit in Sind and Frontier and fight for its maintenance in West Punjab.¹¹

Against all this agitation, Punjab leadership stood hopelessly divided. If there were a group of people in Pakistan who could have provided leadership of the country other than the Army, it was the Punjabis. They were in a majority in the Armed and Civil Services. Most of the big land-

8. *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore), February 8, 1957.

9. *Ibid.*, September 7, 1958.

10. *Ibid.*, September 28, 1958.

11. *Ibid.*, October 1, 1958.

owners were Punjabis. And for politicians, they had a galaxy which included Chaudhri Mohamad Ali, Gurmani, Daultana, Qizilbash, Amjad Ali, and Feroz Khan Noon. But Punjab leadership was torn by unending feuds between men like Gurmani and Noon, Daultana and Noon, Daultana and Qizilbash, Amjad Ali and Qizilbash.

As compared to internal bickering in West Pakistan, the problem of East Pakistan's grievances against the Center and West Pakistan was even of a more serious nature. Sindis, Pathans and Punjabis, despite their differences, lived in a contiguous territory and were united loosely by a common religion and a Mughal pattern of culture. East Pakistan was both physically and culturally separate.

There was also the problem of economic disparity between the two wings. Bengali politicians bitterly complained of the stepmotherly treatment that was being meted out to East Pakistan. Central expenditure, because of the location of Karachi and the concentration of the Army in West Pakistan, was much greater in West Pakistan than in East Pakistan. East Pakistan contributed much more to foreign exchange earnings of the country than the West and yet it was lagging far behind West Pakistan in industrialization. The Center's plea was that scarce resources were being invested in West Pakistan because its developed economy would yield higher returns than East Pakistan. These disparities were further accentuated by the fact that, because of the physical separation of the two parts, central expenditure in the West generated no additional income and employment in the East.

United as all Bengalis were in their bitterness against the Center and West Pakistan, politically they were divided into rival groups led by Suhrawardy and Fazlul Huq. These two leaders had combined to form the United Front Party in order to defeat the Muslim League in the spring of 1954. But as soon as the party assumed office, it split on the matter of distribution of offices and the old rivalry for power in pre-partition Bengal appeared in the form of the Awami League led by Suhrawardy and the Krishak Sramik Party under Fazlul Huq. This was followed by the imposition of Section 92A in Bengal which lasted until August 1955. After that, the Krishak Sramik Party was in office for a year.

The Awami League, when it was invited to form a government in September 1956, enjoyed the support of about 200 Members in a House of 309.¹² The Awami League enjoyed the support of a great majority of the seventy-two Hindu Members in the Assembly because of its support of joint electorate. In March 1957, when Maulana Bhashani resigned as Presi-

12. *Dawn* (Karachi), September 18, 1956.

dent of the Awami League because he disagreed with Mr. Suhrawardy's pro-Western foreign policy, a number of Awami League Members in the Provincial Assembly also resigned in support of Maulana Bhashani's stand. Later, in July 1957, these Members joined the newly formed National Awami Party under Bhashani's leadership and their party strength in the Assembly was twenty-eight. The Krishak Sramik Party also enjoyed the support of the Nizam-i-Islam Party and the Muslim League. Their total strength hovered between 100 and 106.

The Awami League Government soon ran into difficulties when it agreed with the Central Government to let the Army seal the border districts to stop smuggling. It was well known that food, imported goods and capital worth 800 million rupees were being drained away from East Pakistan's economy.¹³ In December 1957, the Army launched its famous 'Operation Close Door.' A number of Hindu members of the Assembly reacted sharply against this policy as it meant that a number of Hindu families, who were engaged in sending their capital and valuables out of Pakistan, would be adversely affected.¹⁴ They threatened the Awami League with withdrawal of their support if the anti-smuggling drive by the Army was not relaxed or abandoned altogether.

Fazlul Huq, who was Governor, but actively interested in restoring his party, Krishak Sramik, to power, knew that the Awami League Government was finding it difficult to maintain its majority. Fazlul Huq dismissed Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, the Awami League Chief Minister, and appointed Mr. Abu Hussain Sarkar, the leader of the Krishak Sramik Party, as Chief Minister on March 31, 1958.¹⁵ But this action brought about his own immediate dismissal by the Central Government on the same day. A new Governor was appointed and the Awami League was back in power on April 1, 1958.

The see-saw for political power continued. On June 18, 1958, the Awami League was defeated because some of the Hindu members had withdrawn their support and also because the National Awami Party remained neutral when the Ministry was faced with a division on the floor of the House. The KSP leader, Mr. Sarkar, was invited to form a Ministry. He was out of office in less than a week, when the National Awami Party

13. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta), September 9, 1958.

14. The total smuggling of Hindu capital was Rs. 400 million. This is apportioned into its constituent parts: income of Hindu jute traders—120, Sale, proceeds of Hindu urban properties—160, Zamindars' rent and lease values—50, Collection of bankers, 'film traders,' and other Hindu traders' income—40, Hindu pleaders' income—20, and income of service holders of Indian nationals—10. Total Rs. 400 million. A. Sadeque, *The Economic Emergence of Pakistan*, Part I (Dacca, East Bengal Government Press, 1954) pp. 23-24.

15. Under Article 71 (6) the Governor could dismiss a Chief Minister if he were satisfied that he had ceased to command the confidence of the House.

decided to support the Awami League Party because the latter had agreed to work for a neutral foreign policy and the disintegration of One Unit. This was sheer opportunism. In order to get back in power, the Awami League was prepared to agree to the proposal of a neutral policy when its leader, Mr. Suhrawardy, was an ardent advocate of a pro-Western policy.¹⁶ However, Section 193 was clamped on the Province.

By the end of August 1958, the Awami League Government was again back in power when Section 193 was lifted by the Center and responsible government restored in East Pakistan. Within a month the Awami League Government once again found its majority unstable. The Government also suspected the Speaker of siding with the Opposition. On September 20, 1958, when the House met, the Government moved a resolution of nonconfidence in the Speaker. When the Speaker ruled it out of order, the Government members rushed towards the Speaker in order to remove him physically from the House. The Speaker was assaulted but escaped from the House with minor injuries. This was followed by fighting between the Government and Opposition members in the Assembly in which furniture was freely used by the members to assault one another. The Government tried to pass a resolution declaring that the Speaker was of an unsound mind and that his chair had fallen vacant.¹⁷ On September 23, when the Deputy Speaker, who was a member of the Awami League, appeared to conduct the proceedings of the House, he was assaulted by the members of the Opposition. The Inspector General of Police, on orders of the Government, brought in policemen and the members of the Opposition were removed from the House. The Government was thus able to have all its budget demands passed. A few days later the Deputy Speaker died as a result of the injuries received in the House.

* * * * *

Parliamentary government had been reduced to a farce. East Pakistan at the time these tragic incidents took place was in the grip of acute food shortages, flood and epidemics.

The outlook for parliamentary government at the Center was equally bleak. Since the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in October 1954, no Central Government under any Prime Minister had functioned independently without fear of being dismissed by the Head of the State. Is-

16. The leaders of the National Awami Party explained their willingness to enter such an understanding on the plea that the Awami League, because of its support of joint electorates, was a lesser evil than the KSP. Moreover, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Secretary of the Awami League, has assured them that he would be able to convince Mr. Suhrawardy of the futility of following a pro-Western foreign policy.

17. The author was present in the House when these events took place.

kander Mirza did not give the impression of being as crude and ruthless in the exercise of his power as Ghulam Mohammad. But his control was as thorough and complete. The instrument he used was the Republican Party, the largest single party—twenty-one members in a House of eighty. Mirza had risen from the position of the Defense Secretary to that of President. Probably, as a Civil Servant, he regarded his post of President as permanent. Thus his one object was to preserve himself in power and it seemed not to be his concern as to how low the politics or administration of the country sank.

Mirza never ceased to act as the Political Agent on the North-West Frontier he had been.¹⁸ As such, his main function had been to maintain law and order and never let any tribe or *malik* become very powerful. As Political Agent, he had never had anything to do with welfare administration. Mirza regarded the whole of Pakistan as a sort of North-West Frontier, where his role was to set one party against another and preserve himself in power. Either he would bring about a change in the Center and the new Prime Minister would try to place his supporting parties in the provinces or he would try to upset governments in the provinces with the result that this would disturb the coalition at the Center.

In October 1957, faced with Republican withdrawal of support, Suhrawardy advised the President to summon the National Assembly so that it might be known whether he enjoyed majority support in the Assembly. Mirza asked him to resign at once or he would dismiss him. The President did not want a precedent, under which the Assembly determined whether a Prime Minister enjoyed its confidence, to be established. This would mean that the power of dismissing or appointing a Prime Minister would slip from his hands.

Later on the President found that he could not dragoon the Republicans into accepting Muslim Leaguers as their partners by agreeing to introduce separate electorates in the country. In December 1957, Feroz Khan Noon became Prime Minister and Mr. Suhrawardy's party, the Awami League, was prepared to support Noon's cabinet without sharing any office in it. After that, the President's control over the Republican Party was not as great as before. Feroz Khan Noon did not need to be completely at the call of the President, for he had his own supporters in the Republican Party and, in addition, Suhrawardy's Awami League was also supporting him.

18. Iskander Mirza started his career as an Army officer in 1920. He joined the Indian Political Service in 1926. As Political Agent and Deputy Commissioner, he spent most of his service life in the Frontier before Independence.

The President tried to compensate for this loss by seeking support from other parties. So far as his Republican support was concerned, it came from the tribal area of the Frontier and from Sind where he had the influential Pir of Pigaro and Talpur. And, from Punjab, he had the Shi'a group consisting of the Finance Minister, Amjad Ali, Abid Hussain from Jhang, and Qizilbash (who was both a friend of the President and the chief adviser of Malik Noon). His Muslim League friends were Daultana and Chundrigar, both of whom had tried their best to dissuade Qaiyum Khan from his campaign of denunciation against the President. In East Pakistan his support came from the KSP led by Fazlul Huq and Yusuf Ali Choudhry.

The President had one object in mind—and that was to get himself elected as President after the next general elections. In order to do this, he had to win friends and frustrate the designs of his enemies. Suhrawardy had threatened that he had names of a couple of candidates for the Presidency in his pocket.¹⁹ Mirza tried to cut the ground from under Suhrawardy by getting the Awami League Ministry dismissed in Dacca. He did not succeed in this and his friend, Governor Fazlul Huq, had to lose his office in trying to do the President's bidding and also install his own party, the KSP, in power. The President turned once again to Mr. Suhrawardy and it was reported that their differences had been patched up and that they had reached an understanding on the basis of certain post-election arrangements.²⁰ These hopes were not confirmed by future events. The President, until the end, was trying to get the Awami League Ministry in Dacca removed from office.

Fatimah Jinnah once declared that there was a hidden hand which guided Pakistan's politics; her reference was clearly to the role of President Mirza. A caricature of this role was presented in a cartoon in the *Lail-o-Nabar*. The tragic fighting in the East Pakistan Assembly in September 1958 was pictured as a puppet show with the President pulling the strings.²¹ The *New Statesman* correctly pointed out that it was true that most of the politicians deserved to be stoned but it was not for General Mirza to cast the stones.²²

It has often been pointed out by political observers that, even though both the Central and Provincial Cabinets were coalition cabinets, very few of these cabinets were challenged by votes of non-confidence on the

19. *Down*, March 21, 1958.

20. *The Pakistan Times* (Lahore), August 10 and 19, 1958.

21. *Lail-o-Nabar* (Lahore), September 28, 1958.

22. *New Statesman* (London), October 18, 1958.

floor of the House.²³ How could such challenges be made when opponents could be bought off by offering them ministries? Thus, when Central and Provincial Governments were dismissed under Martial Law, twenty-six of the eighty Members of the National Assembly were Ministers. If Provincial Ministries were taken into account, thirty-four of these eighty Members were holding Ministerial posts.²⁴ On the day Martial Law was declared, the President had sworn in two different Cabinets.²⁵ And it was obvious that on the same day Mr. Suhrawardy was trying to get back as Prime Minister by creating these ministerial crises by first allowing his party members to accept posts in Mr. Noon's Cabinet and later withdrawing them. A Pakistan newspaper commented:

The ministerial merry-go-round goes on and on. The newly-selected Ministers eagerly mount their hobby horses, fly high up; they feast on the lights, take in the music. Then, the ramshackle structure comes to a creaking halt. We see a scramble for the next ride; some are dragged off their seats, some cling on. In places, two riders hang on to one hobby horse; sometimes new mounts are provided for the increasing tribe of riders.²⁶

Offering ministries was not the only way of obtaining political support. Mr. M. A. Qizilbash, the Chief Minister of West Pakistan, blaming the Muslim League for having started political bribery by issuing permits and import licences to its supporters, admitted on the floor of the House that "now, from top to bottom, there was hardly a person who was not corrupt."²⁷ The Muslim League Governments did not have to resort to corruption on such massive scale as the Republicans because they all enjoyed the support of vast majorities in their legislatures.

Corruption and inefficiency had infected the ranks of civil servants as well. Even before the imposition of martial law it was common knowledge that a number of civil servants, including those who had originally been recruited into the famous Indian Civil Service, were corrupt. It looked as if the normal roles of ministers and their civil service advisers had been reversed. Ministers, instead of framing policies, were busy administering departments—transferring civil servants who, they thought, were not likely to be useful in the forthcoming elections and granting import licences to traders in lieu of bribes they offered or the contributions they made to the party. Civil servants, on the other hand started formulating the policies of their departments. But the corruption started

23. The only examples are those of the defeats of the Awami League and Krishak Sramik Party Governments on the floor of the House and both in the same week (June 18, and June 23, 1958).

24. *The Pakistan Times*, October 3, 1958.

25. *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary* (Karachi), October 7, 1958, pp. 1925-1928.

26. *The Pakistan Times*, October 4, 1958.

27. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1958.

by politicians became so rampant and tempting that many civil servants could not resist it.

The Indian Civil Service had been described as the steel framework of the British Government in India and was noted for its corporate spirit. Its successor, the Civil Service of Pakistan, could not live up to this reputation. It was widely known that the top civil servants were divided into different cliques based on provincial or party lines, each of which was supported by a particular political party. It was obvious that when both politicians and civil servants had failed to provide any leadership to the country that a well-organized institution such as the Army would step in to seize power.

Martial law was declared by President Mirza on October 7, 1958. But from the beginning it was clear who had taken the initiative. In a press interview General Ayub revealed: "I said to the President: 'Are you going to act or are you not going to act? It is your responsibility to bring about change and if you do not, which heaven forbid, we shall force a change.'"²⁸ After having established martial law, Ayub knew that a fresh start had to be made and that this dual leadership could not continue. Ayub also knew that Mirza was not likely to let him work freely and that he might also try to divide the Army in the same manner as he had divided the politicians. Probably, even after the imposition of martial law, Mirza gave some grounds for such suspicion. Commenting on Mirza's resignation, Ayub observed, "Certain things came to my knowledge—I would not like to say what."²⁹

The constitutional changes brought about by the imposition of martial law were as follows: The Constitution of March 1956 was abrogated, the Central and Provincial cabinets were dismissed, the National Parliament and the two Provincial Assemblies were dissolved and all political parties were declared illegal.

After the imposition of martial law, one saw no massing of troops. The Army was served by a well-organized intelligence service and probably expected no civil resistance. According to General Musa, the present Commander-in-Chief, army instructions for winter collective training were issued two days after martial law was declared.³⁰ Martial law was welcomed all over the country. People found that big landlords and Ministers were being arrested for various offences they had committed. Particularly the arrest of Mr. Khuhro, a former Defence Minister, on the charge of selling a car on the black market, was dramatic and won

28. *The Pakistan Times*, October 10, 1958.

29. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1958.

30. *Ibid.*, November 13, 1958.

many friends for the martial law régime. Special military courts were established all over the country with powers to try and punish persons for offences under the ordinary law and for contraventions of martial law regulations. Complaint centers were also established where people could go and report to Army officers about their particular cases which were still pending either on the police files or before the courts. The role of martial law, it was repeatedly pointed out, was to speed up the administrative processes which had been hamstrung by the corrupt practices and delaying tactics of the former regime.

Soon after the imposition of martial law, a number of former Central and Provincial Ministers and members of the Central and Provincial Assemblies were arrested on charges of corruption. These arrests continue. In addition to weeding out corruption, President Ayub seems to be interested in eliminating effectively the influence and power that politicians have enjoyed so far in Pakistan. Three enactments of the present régime may be noted in this respect: Land reforms in West Pakistan will paralyze the political power of landlords in that area. The Public Offices (Disqualification) Order, 1959, lays down that politicians found guilty of misconduct or corrupt action will be disqualified from public office for fifteen years.³¹ Under this order, all offences committed since August 15, 1947 can be investigated. It has recently been disclosed by the Director General, Anti-Corruption Department, West Pakistan, that cases of nearly 150 former Ministers, Deputy Ministers, and Parliamentary Secretaries, and about 600 members of the former Central and Provincial Assemblies from West Pakistan are being investigated.³² It has been found that the procedure of investigation and prosecution under the Order is slow and elaborate. Therefore, the President has promulgated the Elective Bodies (Disqualification) Order, 1959. In this order the term 'misconduct' has been given a definition wide enough to include both subversive activities, jobbery and corruption.³³ Under this order, besides corrupt politicians, leaders like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Maulana Bhashani, who have been arrested under the Security of Pakistan Act, 1952, will be automatically disqualified until December 31, 1966 (the term of disqualification is shorter under this order) from being a member or a candidate for membership of any elective body. Since the procedure of investigation and prosecution is much quicker than it is under the Public Offices Order, the Government is likely to use the Elective Bodies Order, more frequently in future. There is a tribunal

31. *The Pakistan Observer* (Dacca), March 26, 1959.

32. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1959.

33. *Ibid.*, August 8, 1959.

under the latter, presided over by a judge, but the tribunal itself has been fully empowered, like the screening committee in the case of civil servants, to conduct its own inquiries and to examine documents and evidence connected with persons whose conduct is being investigated instead of depending upon the slower method of police investigation. It is obvious that the President is in a hurry to have as many corrupt and dangerous politicians removed in this manner so that they may not contaminate the new Panchayat, District and Divisional Councils that he has proposed to set up. Another significant feature of the new régime is the decline in prestige that civil servants have experienced. Members of the Central Civil Services and particularly the Civil Service of Pakistan have been in complete command of every important administrative post both in the Central and Provincial Governments.³⁴ Now they are being told by the generals that their cumbrous procedure involves too much shuffling of paper and that it is not conducive to quick decisions. They have also been accused of a colonial outlook which prizes law and order and the collection of taxes far above welfare administration. But the most disastrous blow has been dealt by the Screening Committees which were set up by the new régime to assess the integrity and efficiency of all civil servants. The startling results of these investigations are that as many as 1,662 civil servants have been dismissed or compulsorily retired for misconduct, corruption or inefficiency. These include thirteen officers who previously belonged to the Civil Service of Pakistan, three to the Foreign Service, and fifteen to the Police Service.³⁵

The martial law régime had to justify itself in the eyes of the common man. Their primary concern was to lower prices of food and other essential commodities. Martial Law Regulation No. 42 fixed the prices of wheat, rice, vegetable, *ghee* and edible oils, textiles, sugar, bicycles, cigarettes, tea, etc., which affected the daily budget of the common man. Punishments ranging from fourteen years' rigorous imprisonment to death could be awarded for contravention of this regulation under Martial Law Regulations Nos. 21, 23, 25, and 26, which dealt with various kinds of hoarding.³⁶

The martial law régime also tried to create the impression that it was no respecter of big firms or wealthy people. Thus, firms like Ali Automobiles, belonging to the family of Amjad Ali, the former Finance Min-

34. There are other Central Services like the Foreign Service, the Audit and Accounts Service, the Customs, the Police, etc., but the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) attracts most of the bright candidates and is the most powerful. See Sayeed, K. B., "The Political Role of the Civil Service of Pakistan", *Pacific Affairs*, June, 1958.

35. *The Pakistan Observer*, June 28, 1959.

36. *The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary* (Karachi), December 9, 1958.

ister, and a number of textile mills owned by Saigol Brothers, well-known textile magnates of West Pakistan, were raided by the police and their records and documents taken into custody for the purpose of government scrutiny.³⁷ Smuggling of all kinds was prohibited by Martial Law Regulation No. 27 and maximum punishment was death.³⁸ The Karachi Customs and Anti-Smuggling Police had been able to seize gold bullion and goods worth Rs. 30 million during the last eleven years. But under martial law, the seizure of these items amounted to Rs. 20 million in a period of one month.³⁹ Vast quantities of food were also being smuggled across the borders to India and Afghanistan. One could see how effectively the borders had been sealed to stop smuggling by the fact that food prices rose sharply in the western districts of East Punjab, and Calcutta experienced a fish famine.⁴⁰

The collection of taxes which were due but evaded under the previous régimes was another achievement of the martial law régime. According to Martial Law Regulation No. 44, persons making false declarations of income for income tax purposes were to be punished by rigorous imprisonment which might extend to seven years, with an additional fine. But such false declarations could be rectified by submitting fresh declarations before January 15, 1959 in order to avoid punishment. After fresh declarations had been filed, it was found that the total income concealed by taxpayers had been as high as Rs. 1,340 million. Foreign exchange surrendered locally was Rs. 40.6 million while the foreign exchange held unauthorizedly abroad by Pakistani nationals and now declared to Pakistan authorities amounted to another Rs. 42 million.⁴¹

Politics in West Pakistan has been dominated by a few powerful landowning families such as the Talpurs, the Tiwanas, and the Noons. The new régime appointed a Land Reforms Commission soon after it assumed office. The findings of the Commission were incorporated in Martial Law Regulation No. 54. *Jagirdari* was abolished without compensation. No landlord could own more than 500 acres of irrigated land or more than 1,000 acres of non-irrigated land. Compensation was to be paid to landlords for their non-*jagirdari* holdings through non-negotiable but heritable bonds redeemable in 25 years. These reforms stripped the big landlords of their political and economic power. The approach was

37. *The Pakistan Times*, October 31, 1958.

38. A number of Martial Law Regulations prescribe death as maximum punishment for offenses like hoarding, smuggling etc. But this served as a deterrent. So far no death sentence has been given for these offences.

39. *The Pakistan Observer*, December 6, 1958.

40. See *The Pakistan Times*, October 30, 1958 and *The Times of India* (Bombay), November 2, 1958.

41. The Department of Advertising, Government of Pakistan, *Pakistan Under the New Regime* (Karachi: Ferozsons), p. 7.

not doctrinaire. Middle-size holdings, which were essential for maintaining agricultural productivity, were not eliminated.⁴²

General Mohammad Ayub Khan, as well as being President, is the Supreme Commander, Chief Martial Law Administrator, and the Defense Minister. His ministers, eleven in number, constitute collectively the Presidential Cabinet; there is no Prime Minister. Three of the Ministers are from the Army and hold the portfolios of Rehabilitation, Health and Social Welfare, and Interior. There are four East Pakistanis in the Cabinet. There are three civil servants. The Foreign Minister, a brilliant lawyer, is from Punjab. It cannot be said that General Ayub rides roughshod over every government institution. In his Cabinet, besides the Generals, there are men of first-rate technical and administrative ability. The Foreign Minister has recently disclosed that the President has been outvoted by his Ministers in some Cabinet decisions.⁴³

What has Ayub done so far to give his regime a sense of legitimacy? The origin of his power lies in its outright seizure and the abrogation of the constitution, though he can rightly claim that he has displayed more social responsibility in the exercise of it than did his predecessors. He has recently put forward the idea of reviving democracy on a four-tier basis. At the lowest level will be the Union *Panchayats*, each containing ten elected and five nominated members. Each elected member will represent from 1,000 to 1,500 people. They will be entrusted with judicial, police and developmental functions pertaining to their areas. The next tier will be the Sub-District Councils, called *Tehsil* Councils in West Pakistan and *Thana* Councils in East Pakistan. These Councils will concern themselves with development activities within their areas. They will be composed of Presidents of Union *Panchayats* and officers of Development Departments. The other two tiers will be the District Councils, presided over by Deputy Commissioners, and Divisional Councils under Commissioners. These Councils will be composed of officials and non-officials on a fifty-fifty basis. Elections to Union *Panchayats* will be held on the basis of adult franchise. In case the new constitution provides for indirect elections to the Parliament or to the office of President, the Union *Panchayats* are likely to form the electoral college.⁴⁴

Ayub has put the constitutional clock back to the days of Lord Mayo and Lord Ripon—the late 19th century—when democratic experiments were initiated by putting life into the existing indigenous local institutions and creating other wider organs of local government like the Dis-

42. For a fuller discussion of this see *Report of the Land Reforms Commission for West Pakistan* (Lahore), 1959, pp. 28-33.

43. *The Pakistan Observer*, April 20, 1959.

44. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1959.

strict Boards and the Municipal Councils. Ayub's experiment also indicates the sort of government that is likely to work in an Asian country. Democracy in Pakistan, according to Ayub, should be a government for the people by the bureaucratic élite. Whether this bureaucracy will evoke support in East Pakistan, particularly when both the Army and the civil service are dominated by West Pakistanis, remains to be seen.

LIST OF PERSONS

- Ahmad, Abul Mansur—an influential Bengali Awami League leader and also Central Minister, 1956-57.
 Ali, Amjad—A Punjabi industrial magnate; Finance Minister, 1955-58.
 Bhashani, Maulana—President, National Awami Party, 1957-1958.
 Choudhry, Yusuf Ali—From Bengal; An influential leader of the Krisham Sramik Party.
 Chundrigar, Ismail Ibrahim—Prime Minister, October-December, 1957.
 Daultana, Mian Mumtaz Mohammad—Chief Minister, Punjab, 1951-1953.
 Gurmani, Mushtaq Ahmad—Governor, Punjab, 1954-1955; Governor, West Pakistan, 1955-1957.
 Huq, A. K. Fazlul—Governor, East Pakistan, 1956-1958.
 Khan, Abdul Ghaffar—A Pathan leader and an exponent of a separate *Pakhtoon* Province.
 Khan, Aatur Rahman—Chief Minister, East Pakistan, 1956-1958 (with interruptions).
 Khan, Qaiyum—President, Muslim League, elected 1958.
 Khan Sahib, Dr.—Chief Minister, West Pakistan, 1955-57.
 Khuhro, Muhammad Ayub—Chief Minister, Sind, 1947-48, 1951 and 1955; Defense Minister in the Central Government, 1958.
 Mahmood, Hasan—Minister, West Pakistan, 1956-1958.
 Mohamad Ali, Chaudhri—Prime Minister, 1955-1956.
 Mohammad, Ghulam—Governor-General, 1951-1953.
 Nazimuddin, Khwaja—Prime Minister, 1951-1953.
 Nishtar, Sardar Abdur Rab—President, Muslim League, 1955-1957.
 Noon, Feroz Khan—Punjabi landlord; Prime Minister, 1957-1958.
 Pir of Pagaro—Spiritual leader and landowner in Sind.
 Pirzada, Abdus Sattar—Sind leader; Minister in West Pakistan Government, 1956-1958.
 Qizilbash, Muzaffar Ali Khan—Punjabi landlord; Chief Minister, West Pakistan, April-October, 1958.
 Rashid, Sardar Abdur—Chief Minister, N-W.F.P., 1953-1955; Chief Minister, West Pakistan, 1957-1958.
 Sarkar, Abu Hussain—Chief Minister, East Pakistan, 1955-1956, and also later for brief periods.
 Syed, G. M.—Sind leader and an exponent of a separate province for Sind.
 Talpur, Mir Ghulam Ali—Sind landlord; Minister, Central Government; 1956-1958.

CULTURE AND ADMINISTRATION IN IRAN

Richard W. Gable

THE administrative system of a country is an aspect of the total environment and culture of its people. In an effort to understand administration more clearly and completely we must examine the physical, social and political environment within which it operates and the complex culture patterns of the people. The character of administrative arrangements, organizations, and processes is shaped by culture and its environment. Culture, in turn, is a product of individuals, groups, and organizations and their attitudes, values, and behavior, including the administrative system.

The land, its climate and geography, and the people, their history and culture are elements of the administrative environment in Iran that have a relationship and an influence on Iranian administration. It would be impossible to characterize all the elements which make up the administrative environment of Iran here. A brief analysis will be attempted of Iranian society and culture and certain personality characteristics of Iranians which help explain administrative systems and practices.¹

This presentation is made with the awareness that cultural interpretations involve generalizations about groups of people. There are always individual exceptions and personality variations from the cultural norms and patterns of groups. These differences always exist within a group and are important if one is fully to understand a people. Yet, there is an identifiable pattern of individual traits which is worth describing. The variations assume full significance in the context of known cultural uniformities.

Modern Iran is of recent birth, with a long history, which is both glorious and dismal. To the Westerner, Persia is an ancient and exotic land which excites visions of rugs, miniatures, lyric poetry, blue skies and blue-tiled mosques, high-walled gardens and delicate roses—and the

1. For some of the observations and insights presented here the writer relies on Wayne Untereiner, *The Administrative Environment of Iran* (mimeographed). This excellent, unpublished study was prepared by Dr. Untereiner, a cultural anthropologist, when he served on the advance party from the University of Southern California which went to Iran in 1954 to establish the Institute for Administrative Affairs in the University of Tehran under a contract with the International Cooperation Administration.

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black gold which has come to dominate the politics of Iran. Accurate as these images are, they reflect a limited and incomplete picture of modern Iran.

Vivid contrasts and great extremes characterize Iran. Its land includes the verdant Caspian littoral and the earth's most desolate desert. Its climate ranges from the Persian Gulf's intense heat to the mountain's snowy cold. Its people, of various ethnic origins, include representatives of many of the major religions of the world. They live the life of the peasant, the nomad, and the sophisticated urbanite.

Iran's history has been one of alternating periods of internal autonomy and world power followed by invasion and subjugation. Consequently, Iran has experienced frequent interchange of cultural values and techniques. Periods of cultural borrowing and elaboration have alternated with periods of cultural purging and reformation. There have been fluctuations between strong and weak governments, benevolent and despotic rulers, centralized and decentralized administrations.

Iranian society and culture reflect the contrasts and extremes in the geography and history of the country. Extravagant wealth exists along side of miserable poverty. A well-educated élite contrasts with illiterate masses. A highly developed urban life in a few cities is at the opposite extreme from the rural and nomadic civilization which pervades the country.

The people are widely known for their friendliness and hospitality, but a vicious competition exists in many interpersonal relationships and is especially noticeable in the public service. A highly centralized, complex government bureaucracy serves a loose, individualistic society. And, although the centralization is often extreme, coordination is rare.

Iranian Society

The most conspicuous characteristic of civilization in the Middle East is that the population in each country consists of a mosaic of peoples. The Persians, the Arabs, the Kurds, the Jews, the Armenians and others tend to be organized into a complicated social system based on a division of labor. As each group spends much of its time together, celebrates its holidays as separate communities, and brings up its children with the idea that they are to learn a special kind of work and learn it well, the members of each of these groups have been able to perfect some kind of technique, some consummate skill. The sum of all these skills is the civilization of the Middle East.²

2. Carleton S. Coon, *Ceremon: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951), p. 2. See also, Herbert H. Vreeland (ed.), *Iran* (New Haven, Connecticut: Human Relations Area Files, 1957), pp. 245-257, and Untereiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-55.

This division of labor is the most efficient way for people to live in a lean environment—with settlements widely spaced and sources of raw materials even farther apart. However, the mosaic system is not a caste system as it is in India. People in Iran can, and sometimes do, move from one status level to another.³

As a result of the way labor has come to be divided various status levels have come to be recognized. Landowners are worlds removed from peasants, even intellectuals and professionals from merchants. Representatives in the Parliament are seated according to their status.

Persons seldom deign to perform a task beneath their status or even, at the same level, to cross lines of specialization. A person in the upper classes would never engage in any kind of manual labor. Even a lowly clerk would not lift and move his typewriter to another desk; he would call a janitor. Consequently, especially when this trait is combined with a high degree of individualism which makes it difficult for persons to cooperate, work may go undone until a person of the appropriate status arrives or is hired to do the task.

The mosaic system in Iran is based on agricultural and tribal traditions, both of which are organized on hierarchical lines. Society is socially graded, and a pattern of dominance and submission is pervasive.⁴ The tenant is subservient to the landlord, the employee to the employer, the peasant to the city-dwelling elite which owns the land, the enlisted man to the officer. The relationship requires a ceremonial politeness, eyes cast downward, hands clasped or hand over heart, an "after-you-please" insistence, which often carries with it an air of obsequiousness.

The only equality in Iranian society is before Allah. Men are acutely aware of the differences that separate them. Minor differences may be exaggerated and exploited, but often it is not necessary for a person of superior social status to insist upon deference because the subservient individual has been conditioned to accept his role and responds with appropriate ceremony. This deferential attitude destroys objectivity and confounds the administrator who seeks accurate information. A subordinate frequently answers as he thinks a person would like to be answered rather than report the facts.

The old mosaic system is incompatible with modern nationalism and posed a major problem to Reza Shah when he attempted to strengthen

3. Ali Razmara, for example, rose to the position of General, and later Prime Minister, from peasant origins.

4. This pattern of dominance and submission is not inconsistent with Iranian individualism, because the individualism is expressed at a person's level in society. To the extent that these elements are contradictory, it is evidence of the complex forces which shape Iranian character.

the central government and reform the country. Individuals owe their allegiance to their family, tribe, religion or other group before they owe it to the nation.

The Influence of the Family

The family and religion are the most significant elements of Iranian society and culture. The focus of all Iranian life is the family.⁵ It is the most stable and fundamental social unit. An Iranian is born into the family and he never leaves it. His total life is dominated by the family and family relationships. Most of his personality traits are a product of the family. Other institutions reinforce rather than alter family influences.

The father's role as head of the family fosters prolonged, dependent relationships. He assumes a responsibility for the welfare of the family members. As a result, attitudes are engendered that limit the initiative and potentiality of individuals. Independence in assuming responsibility and authority are discouraged. Middle-aged men are commonly completely dependent on fathers or fathers-in-law for financial support and major personal decisions. Families, and intimate friends, are expected to influence and to interfere in each other's affairs. Individuals derive a sense of security from this situation of others thinking about and looking after them.

Dominance and submissive roles are learned early in life, especially in the family. Consequently, leadership in Iran is equated with domineering, even arbitrary and tyrannical, behavior, such as the father exercises. Rebellion against this kind of authority works against cooperation.

Outside the safety of the family, life is unstable and often dangerous. Success, possibly survival, depend upon effective manipulation of other persons. Cooperation is further discouraged, and a viciousness in interpersonal relations ensues. External security is found to result from relying upon increasing circles of family and friends. Through them individual Iranians advance themselves.

The meaning of these cultural traits for administration is clear. The family type of dependencies reinforce administrative patterns of avoiding responsibility and delaying, if not completely evading, decisions. Administration by drift rather than by firm decision is commonplace.

Moreover, authority is concentrated at the top; organizations become top heavy; all decisions must be made at the top far removed from the immediate problem. A decision to allow the sewage from a public building in one of the provinces to flow into the cesspool of an adjoining public building had to go to the Minister of Health in Tehran for

5. See also, Untereiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 51, 73-74, and Vreeland, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-268.

approval. Administrators are reluctant to accept responsibility. But, once vested with authority they will seldom relinquish it or ease their task by delegating portions of it.

The general insecurity individuals feel in a highly unstable society leads them to circumvent normal government procedures. Family and personal influence have come to be so important that there is a common feeling that nothing can be accomplished through regular channels. Administration tends to follow irregular channels and exceptional procedures to the extent that work which follows the formal pattern is long delayed or never done. Inequality of service results because administrative action so often depends on personal connections.⁶

Appointments to government jobs depend largely on family and personal connections; however, such nepotism is not simply an expression of outright corruption. Although corruption may be a factor, these appointments also result from the belief that one should favor his family friend when in a position of power because one's first allegiance is to his family. Furthermore, it is the safest course of action because one can trust his own people. The principle of merit in appointment and promotion makes slow headway under these circumstances. Consequently, seniority in promotion is strongly entrenched as a means of introducing some regularity and stability in civil service procedures.

The Influence of Religion

Along with the family, the Islamic religion is probably the most important cultural influence in Iranian society.⁷ The Islamic faith is both a religious creed and a form of civil government. From the beginning, the religion provided the form of government. The acts of civil government have religious sanction. In effect, Islam is the state.

The Shi'a version of Islam is established as the official religion of Iran by a Supplementary Fundamental Law to the Constitution, enacted in 1907. The Shah of Iran is required to "profess and promote" this faith. The *'ulama* are vested with the authority of determining whether any proposed law is in accordance with the principles of Islam.

6. The Institute for Administrative Affairs had the experience of suffering along for a number of months with an accountant assigned to the Institute, as is the practice, by the Ministry of Finance. His overzealous practice of reviewing every financial transaction completely obstructed all action. The Director failed in repeated efforts to have a more tractable man assigned. One day the accountant offended the librarian's assistant, a young woman from a prominent Tehran family. One phone call to her cousin in the Ministry of Finance was sufficient to have the accountant replaced.

7. For a more extended discussion of Islam as well as of its influence on the culture, see Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-119; Vreeland, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-302; Donald N. Wilbur, *Iran: Past and Present*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 231-237; William S. Haas, *Iran* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), pp. 70-91.

Although Reza Shah attempted to break the tight grip the religious leaders held over many phases of public life, he did not secularize government as Atatürk did in Turkey. Religious law gave way to civil and criminal codes when a Western legal system was introduced and the authority of religious leaders was lessened. Civil marriage and divorce registers were established and religious leaders lost direct control of much of their vast trust funds. However, the Islamic leaders in Iran continue to be a political force. They may declare legislation null and void and the present Shah consults the principal religious leader at the city of Qum before making an important decision, such as that to join the Baghdad Pact.

There seems to be a resurgence of religious influence in recent years and the *chador* (veil worn by women), which Reza Shah largely succeeded in eliminating, is widely worn again among the lower classes. On the other hand, religion appears to be an insignificant element in the lives of many of the intellectuals and members of the upper classes.

Occasionally religious leaders have played an active part in politics agitating for retrogressive social customs or supporting fanaticism—including assassination. During the Musaddiq affair the prominent religious leader, Ayatollah Sayyid Abul-Qasim Kashani, played an important role, first in supporting Musaddiq, then in working for his overthrow. The Devotees of Islam have advocated and actually engaged in assassination.

Such a predominant influence on the life of Iranians as their religion understandably affects their view of the state and the conduct of government and administration. From the beginning Islam did not make clear the distinction between society and the state. In the early Islamic conception society and the state meant the same thing. The concept of the state is not to be found in the Qur'an, nor was it in vogue in Muhammad's time. The Qur'an merely refers to organized authority, which belongs to Allah (as the source of governing authority) forming part of the state. Society, whether it engulfed the state or constituted certain aspects of it, was the creation of man's needs to fulfill certain social functions.

The sacred law of Islam is inwardly felt and is often more binding than the law of the state. A person must be a Muslim to be eligible for a Cabinet position. Women are regarded as inferior to men in the Qur'an and their rights and privileges are seriously circumscribed. The veil is only one sign of the lowly place women occupy in society. They do not vote. They may inherit property as men do, but the share of the man is double the share of the woman. They are not qualified for public office, and relatively few women work for government. A proposed revision

of the present civil service law would deny a married woman the opportunity of taking a government job without the prior approval of her husband. Social pressures also deny many women the opportunity of an education which would be essential for them to obtain good jobs and to better their position.

The Islamic practice of alms-giving is related to the charity concept of public employment which is prevalent in Iran. A person obtains, and continues to hold, a government job, not because of his merit but because the government owes him a living. The public employment rolls are clogged with the names of surplus persons who do little or no work but who cannot be fired because of a general law prohibiting the firing of employees. The law might be repealed, but the argument is that the government has an obligation to provide for these people and no workable alternative has been suggested to simply continuing them on the pay roll.

The Islamic concept of *taqdir* (fate) affects the way an Iranian approaches the problems of government and administration. Conditions are pretty much accepted as they are because they cannot be changed. The forces which man faces in life are felt to be larger than he can cope with so he accepts them with a stoical compassion. He does not accept the responsibility for his own conditions. Moreover, he accepts no responsibility for his fellow man. Consequently, large areas of man's life are regarded as a matter of fate, beyond control or direction.

Iranian Cultural and Personality Traits

No effort will be made to describe all the characteristics of the Iranian people. If a comprehensive picture were painted, the discussion would have to include such traits as the emphasis on mysticism, the love of art and poetry, the emotionalism of the people, the tendency to moralize, and so on. In this brief presentation attention will be called only to those traits which appear to be related to the functioning of government and administration.

Individualism

The first and most obvious characteristic of the Persians is their individualism. The Persian individualism is unique. It differs markedly from the individualism understood by the Westerner. It lacks a strong emphasis on personal integrity and the worth of the individual. A belief in freedom is missing and personal responsibility, initiative and independence are not encouraged.⁸

8. See Untereiner, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

Persian individualism amounts to a kind of social anarchy which is best described as a lack of a sense of community. Outside the family or the tribe or in relation to Islam the average Iranian is not inclined to cooperate with his fellow man. If a community suffers a disaster—a bridge washed out or a school burned down—the people will seldom pool their resources and manpower to repair the damage. Joint effort will build a mosque or help a member of the family but little more. Community action is regarded as benefiting the landlord or the state rather than the people. Furthermore, the pressure of personal problems prevents a person from spending much time on community problems.

Associations, clubs, even political parties are virtually unknown. Voluntary citizen's groups and charitable organizations are rare. Whereas Americans are a nation of joiners, Iranians are a nation of abstainers. Cooperation through such a simple device as committees does not fit Iranian work habits or conform to the psychology of the people. There are mature, well-educated Iranians who would not know how to work with several other persons on a committee. While collegiate forms of organization are known and sometimes used, the principal motivation seems to be a desire to avoid responsibility or a lack of confidence on the part of persons who must make decisions.

The effect of this form of individualism on interpersonal relations and national development is profound. A sense of community is essential for professionalization of the public service, the development of a public conscience, and the growth of democracy. In its absence either anarchy or totalitarianism may result. Yet, the Persian tends to think of himself and his family first, then of his larger kinship group or tribe, and lastly of his nation. The nation is not a community of feeling. Only a few Iranians today exhibit anything that resembles genuine national patriotism or love of country.⁹ Although Iranians are fiercely proud of their history and heritage their devotion to their country is notoriously weak.¹⁰ Moreover, personal relations beyond family lines are often strained by an individualism which is inclined to show little regard for other people. Personal relations are often unstable. Jealousy, envy, rivalry and intrigue are common. Distrust and suspicion are widespread and pronounced.

While frankness, sincerity and trust are valued as virtues, they are not always practiced and are seldom rewarded. Underlying the prover-

9. Writing over fifty years ago an American tourist in Persia reported that he searched in vain for a Persian flag. "The flag has little significance in Persian patriotism; for that reason it is not commonly on sale, so I had to have the banner made to order." A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia, Past and Present* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906), p. 423.

10. Commenting on this statement, one Iranian said: "The past is ours, but the country is not."

bial Persian hospitality and friendliness is sometimes a pervasive lack of faith and confidence in others. Confidence does exist within families and between life-long friends, but it is often of a personal nature built upon intimacy. Honesty and trust are not widely institutionalized virtues. Favors may be bought or bribes given on the assumption that if one does not, somebody else will. Altruism or generosity are frequently questioned and a hidden motive is suspected.

Subjectivity

It is understandable, in light of the influence of the family and religion in Iranian culture and the nature of Iranian individualism, that the average Iranian is people-oriented. People rather than things and the physical world tend to motivate him. He is most apt to respond to a human situation in which personal and social relationships, cultural traditions, opinions, attitudes and emotions figure greatly.

Moreover, he views life around himself in a highly subjective fashion. In this world of people, emotions are unstable, opinions and attitudes are subjective and momentary, and personal relationships are either dominated by family and friendship or strained by fierce individualism. Logic and rationality are frequently not employed to solve current problems. Instead, solutions are sought in traditions, quotations and anecdotes. Analytical ability is not applied to intellectual problems. Speeches, especially in the Parliament, are diffuse and rambling, full of poetic allusions or historical allegories but devoid of a logical progression of ideas. Generally, objective standards and values, apart from traditions, are inexplicit or lacking. Thought processes are predominantly subjective.

The consequence for government and administration is that organizations tend to be unsystematic, lacking in rational structure and highly personal. Organizations are seen in terms of persons, bearing certain status and prestige, rather than being viewed as a set of relationships between various duties and responsibilities which are entrusted to individuals. The position concept of organization and job classification is little understood.

Administrative practices and procedures are built largely on personal and subjective bases. Decisions are often made because of personal relationships. Objectivity does not seem to guide policy or procedure. Iranians seem to be unimpressed by statistics and there does not seem to be a great desire to get all the facts before acting. Administrative research is virtually unknown.

The competitive nature of interpersonal relations leads persons to criticize others freely and spread rumors widely. Criticism is often destructive and disruptive of normal operations of government. Some news-

papers are especially irresponsible in their criticism, making charges that have no basis in fact and are not infrequently pure fabrication. Calculated use is made of rumors to gain personal and political ends. The efficient operation of government suffers from these practices and many times public servants are seriously injured.

Traditionalism

Iranian reverence for tradition and a glorification of the past are easily discernible traits. The past weighs heavily on the present. It ennobles an Iranian's conception of the present and provides a model and inspiration for the future. Persia was once a great and powerful nation. Her heroes are still honored. The intellectual and cultural contribution of poets, artists and philosophers a thousand years ago help to make up for and offset some of the shortcomings which are felt in modern Iran.

This backward orientation weakens the ability of Iranians to cope with contemporary problems and to plan for the future. Past achievements are often used as standards and criteria in a world in which they are no longer appropriate. An exaggerated emphasis on the greatness of Persian history diverts attention from immediate concerns. Tradition dictates how government and administration will be conducted in the twentieth century. For forty years one man worked in a file room in which file drawers were labelled by tags hanging from strings. He never thought of changing this system because the drawers were labelled that way when he took over the job.

As a result of this emphasis on tradition, conservatism is regarded as a major virtue and typical Iranian behavior is compulsive and rigid. Deviations from established patterns is disturbing and a source of insecurity.¹¹

The future seems to have little meaning in Iran except as it is possibly a means of recapturing the past. The greatest concern is with extracting the most from the present. The pleasures or problems of the moment can be appreciated or dealt with much easier than those in the future. Concern with the future, foresight and an endeavor to plan are uncommon qualities in an Iranian. It is a rare executive who plans his work day, let alone plans weeks or months ahead. Systematic social and government planning are almost non-existent. Budgets never involve a calculation of work programs and an estimate of their cost. At most, they repeat the programs and costs of previous years, and even this is likely to be done on a monthly rather than a yearly basis.

Plans are unnecessary to some Iranians because the future is regarded as predetermined, uncertain or precarious. An inscrutable force shapes

11. Untereiner, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

man's destiny and it is a foolish man who would attempt to alter fate, or *taqdir*. It is difficult to determine how widely this concept is accepted. Undoubtedly it has lost much influence, but, for some fate still determines a man's place in society and the wise individual is counseled to accept it. Industry, devotion to duty and perseverance are consequently little honored virtues. Let the present be appreciated to the fullest, even if it is exploited so recklessly as to prejudice the future!

The lack of concern for the future also affects the Iranians concept of time. The American's compulsions about time are totally absent in Iran. Punctuality is rare. Putting off till tomorrow what might be done today is so common that *farda* (tomorrow) is almost the first word a foreigner learns when he arrives in Iran.

Attitude toward Authority

The orientation of an Iranian is constantly upward where authority is found. Order and discipline are imposed from above. There is little concern for the people below and people on the same level cannot be viewed as having any authority. A person's authority may stem from his age, rank, prestige, education or strength.

Age is commonly venerated, even if a person's age is advanced to the point that he is rather useless. Rank also has its privileges, in the civil service as well as the army. Seniority is the sole basis for promotion. Education is so highly regarded that additional allowances are added to a public servant's salary according to the degrees he possesses. Degrees and titles are usually used to address a person. An engineer is addressed as "Engineer So-and-so," just as a doctor is called "Doctor."

Extreme orientation toward authority carries with it a kind of ceremonial politeness which may descend to obsequiousness and servility. A ritual of deference is found on each level of authority which must be performed for the next higher level. Such behavior complicates and may actually obstruct a normal work relationship. Sometimes this behavior is a façade that masks distrust, antagonism or deep-seated hostility. Politeness and civility pass easily into flattery and adroit social manipulation of others for one's own purposes.

The exercise of authority is not conducive to effective and efficient administration in Iran. Authority is often the sole criterion for making a decision. Persons are generally reluctant to accept any responsibility unless they are formally vested with authority. Once vested with authority, a person seldom delegates it so that little initiative develops at the lower levels. The heads of sub-offices on the same level do not communicate laterally with each other, but vertically through their chief. In large organizations this results in a fragmentation of the organization into a

series of water-tight compartments which duplicate or block each other's work. Co-workers in the same office deal separately with the chief rather than cooperating laterally. Informal exchange between fellow workers is uncommon.

Most authority in the Iranian government is so highly centralized that persons at the lower levels cannot function. Policemen on the beat or directing traffic cannot arrest or write tickets; this must be done by officers. Personnel actions must go to the minister or his designate for signature. Requisitions must be signed at a level near the top of the organization before goods can be purchased. Provincial Governors are almost totally lacking in authority. Their every action must be cleared through Tehran. Recently a Governor came to Tehran to confer with central government officials without asking their permission. He was instructed to return to his province and request authorization first.

Attitude toward Work

The Iranian's aesthetic and artistic inclinations cause him to hold himself aloof from the practical, work-a-day world. He may feel no particular devotion to his job or any reason to be particularly industrious. Loyalty to an employer, a company, factory or office is not a common trait in Iran, just as loyalty to the nation ranks after devotion to family and tribe.

Different from the Protestant tradition in the West, work is not a positive value in Iran, although many lower class Persians toil for long hours at back-breaking tasks. The nature of work a person may perform is related to his status in society. Frequently, an Iranian will not pitch in to get a job done if he must work beneath his station. This is especially true of manual or physical labor but also applies to white-collar work. Whereas the average American may pride himself in the fact that he worked his way up from the bottom and still has the capability to perform a variety of physical and manual tasks, the average Iranian is more apt to pride himself that he has never performed physical labor nor worked beneath his status. Although an Iranian student may have washed his own car when he was in the United States, to do so when he returned to Iran would degrade him and be an insult to his family.

Persons whose training require that they work in the field to be effectively utilized are often reluctant to leave the desk and soil their hands. An engineer, for example, may refuse a field assignment. Part of the reason is that to engage in physical labor is beneath him, even though his education was for that purpose. Another reason is that many people feel the important decisions are made at the desk. If a person were to leave the

office he might jeopardize his personal interest, chances for promotion, and so forth, because he is not on the spot to protect himself.

Patterns of Expression and Communication

The lack of rationality and logic in oral and written expression has already been mentioned in discussion of Iranian subjectivity. The subjective character of Iranian life is one explanation. Another explanation can be found in the reverence the Iranians have for elaborate and flowery, almost poetic, methods of expression and communication. Persian is essentially a literary language and the Iranians have a literary and philosophical bent which generally affects the way they communicate.

The diplomatic correspondence the Shah carried on with Napoleon is an instructive example of a mellifluous style which is typical. A treaty was concluded in 1807 between France and Iran. Napoleon promised artillery and guns and military instructors. In appreciation the Shah replied:

Every word in the noble lines is like a drop of amber on pure camphor or like the perfumed curls on the rosy cheeks of a beloved with a bosom of lilies . . . the amber scent of the gracious document has embalmed the alcove of our souls so susceptible to friendship and has perfumed with musk the secret chamber of our hearts filled with justice and loyalty.¹²

Iranians seem to enjoy talk for the sake of talking. Lengthy and involved statements may be made to convey a simple idea. Expression is seldom concise, direct and to the point. Definite, brief answers to explicit questions are avoided. It is not uncommon for an Iranian to say what he thinks the questioner wants to hear rather than to give the correct or accurate answer. This tendency is another aspect of the ceremonial politeness which is so prevalent.¹³

Even though verbal skills are consciously cultivated for their own sake, there seems to be little concern for the talk to lead to action. On the other hand, words may be so skillfully used that they are effective elements of social maneuver. A subordinate may succeed in winning the confidence of his superior by praising him artfully, a negotiator may avoid committing himself by talking around the point or by answering one question with another.¹⁴

The conduct of business in Iran is complicated and obstructed by the manner of communication and the ritual of politeness which surrounds it. A business conference always begins with a glass of tea and an elaborate exchange of pleasantries. Eventually the subject of business is reached in a roundabout fashion. A direct assault is seldom made on a topic. The

12. Quoted in Haas, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

13. Untereiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28, 66.

14. Vreeland, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

results of the conference may be inconclusive or unclear. Perhaps the decision is implied rather than stated outright.

Great reliance is placed on written communication in the conduct of business. A written document carries more prestige and magnifies the importance of the originator. It is also a means of bridging the gaps which exist between persons as a result of extreme individualism. The use of written messages where oral communication could be substituted always slows down administration. The process is especially slow when most of them are hand written as in Iran.

Pessimism

A trait which can be found among most Iranians and which has serious consequences for every aspect of social and political life is a deep-seated and pervasive pessimism. The glory of ancient Persia has not been recaptured in recent centuries. Iran has never again been able to measure up to its impressive beginnings. She never fully recovered from the destruction wrought by the Mongols and Turks. In modern history, because of her strategic location and her oil, Iran has again become a pawn in international power politics. Even though Iran has attempted to assert her neutrality in the World Wars, she has suffered invading armies each time.

The present dynasty has made significant strides in modernizing and improving Iran, although not nearly so great as Ataturk made in Turkey. The government is a constitutional monarchy, but a history of despotism hangs heavy over the present. In a real sense the people have no participation in or control over their government. With power and wealth concentrated in the hands of a few, many people feel that all efforts at reform will be balked unless it promotes the interests of the ruling elite.

Consequently, a sense of futility and hopelessness is widespread. Persia has seen a progression of advisors, financial missions, and technical assistance experts. Studies, surveys and investigations have been conducted. Elaborate plans have been conceived and grandiose projects devised, yet the rate of progress and improvement is seen to be agonizingly slow. An attitude of "what's the use" or "it will do no good" is often expressed in regard to each new scheme for administrative reform. This attitude numbs the will and deadens the initiate to succeed.

Conclusions

A dozen years ago Robert Dahl pointed out that "we cannot afford to ignore the relationship between public administration and its social setting."¹⁵ The scientific study of this relationship requires a systematic

15. "The Science of Public Administration," *Public Administration Review*, 7:7, Winter, 1947.

gathering of data in terms of a carefully devised methodology. However, useful models cannot be developed in a vacuum nor should data not be collected simply because a productive model has not been devised.

The first-hand observations reported here are frankly impressionistic and speculative. They are presented as the raw material which may be helpful in constructing models for the comparative study of administration. Clearly, here are specific examples of cultural influences on administration. These examples confirm the value of using data beyond traditional field of public administration. They also verify the conclusion already frequently reported that the traditional approaches to the study of public administration in the United States have been culture bound and consequently have impaired comparative study by their emphasis on legalism and formalism. Descriptive as these data are, they may encourage the still more fruitful and rewarding search for scientific models.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY

The Nile Agreement

Given the present amounts of water available for agriculture in the Middle East and in the absence of a great breakthrough to other availabilities, such as de-salinization, one of the major problems of the area is the division of inner waters, particularly since rivers tend not to have much to do with national boundaries there. The great Tigris-Euphrates system, for example, divided among Turkey, the Syrian Region of the U.A.R. and Iraq, still has no overall plans for its utilization, and individual country plans—between Syria and Iraq—are mutually contradictory as to the Euphrates. Adding to the problem of the Jordan system, as among four countries, are the political differences between the Arab riparian states and Israel. The Litani and several important Turkish rivers are exceptions.

In addition, therefore, to the earlier, hopeful prospects of a settlement of the bitter quarrel concerning the Indus and its tributaries between Pakistan and India, the recent agreement between Sudan and Egypt on the use of Nile water is especially gratifying.

The agreement of November 8, 1959 replaces the 1929 agreement, denounced unilaterally by the Sudan last year, on the ground that it was enforced under British rule and did not conform to the country's requirements.

Intermittent negotiations between Egypt and Sudan had gone on since the decision of the former to build the High Dam at Aswan, which will flood a large agricultural area near Wadi Holfa in the northern Sudan and thus requires Sudanese consent. The two principal points at issue were the division of the twenty-two billion cubic meters of water annually which have previously flowed unused into the Mediterranean and which the High Dam will now conserve, and the amount of compensation to be paid the evicted Sudanese farmers and townsmen.

After the 'Abbud *coup d'état* in the Sudan last year, the negotiations were stepped up. The November 8th results represent a considerable gain for the Sudan in the division of the Nile and substantial compensation for its citizens. In order to get the High Dam built, Egypt was willing to make large concessions.

In addition to the "basic" rights of forty-eight billion cubic meters to Egypt and four billion cubic meters to Sudan under the 1929 division, Sudan will now receive fourteen and a half billion, Egypt seven and a half billion each year. The Sudan will, however, "lend" Egypt an extra billion and a half cubic meters per year until the former has need of it under her own irrigation plans.

Egypt will pay the Sudan £15 million as compensation for flooded land. This figure represents a major reduction in the Sudan's claim for £36 million in the earlier stages of the negotiations. It is estimated that actual property damage to owners will be in the neighborhood of £6.4 million and the Sudan intends now to use the rest for construction of a dam on the Atbara River. Egyptian experts will also assist the Sudanese in canalizing and draining the great "Sudd" marshes and swamps in southern Sudan, measures which, when completed, will appreciably add to the annual flow of the White Nile, though more than three-quarters of the full river's volume is from the Blue Nile.

On its part, Egypt can now proceed without hindrance in its plans for the Aswan High Dam, upon which such a large part of Egypt's agricultural and industrial planning depends. Though the High Dam is by no means a panacea for all of Egypt's economic ills, it will help to roll back the pressing land problem until a larger part of its population is enabled to gain a living in industry rather than agriculture. The next twenty years will be crucial in this respect.

CHRONOLOGY*

General

1959

June 15: The Moroccan Prime Minister arrived in Cairo for talks with UAR officials "to improve relations between Morocco and the Arab countries."

Indonesian Prime Minister Subandrio met with President Nasir and UAR Foreign Minister Fawzi to discuss world problems between governments of the "uncommitted nations."

Fidel Castro's envoy, Ernesto Guevara, arrived in Cairo together with three others to talk with Nasir on strengthening the two countries' relations and to study Egyptian land reform.

June 16: The 27th annual Arab Medical Conference opened in Damascus with about 1,500 physicians in attendance.

June 18: The bureau of the imamate of Oman announced that Imam Ghalib bin 'Ali would arrive in Cairo by invitation of President Nasir to discuss with him the Oman issue and "continued British aggression" in Oman.

June 19: In Rome, the FOA's Council deferred official action on a draft agreement between the Arab League and the FOA.

June 23: A cultural agreement which provides for an exchange of cultural missions, teachers, students, books and films was signed in Cairo by UAR Foreign Minister Fawzi and the Prime Minister of Morocco.

June 24: The UAR has accepted the Russian-amended plan for the Aswan high dam, it was announced in Cairo.

June 27: The Industrial Health Training Course, under the joint auspices of the UAR and WHO opened at Alexandria with twenty-seven physicians, engineers and chemists from seven countries of the Eastern Mediterranean participating.

The Maronite Patriarch, Msgr. Paul Ma'ushi, expressed sympathy for the Algerian cause when he received Sayyid Maluloud Boukarmouh, representative of the provisional Algerian government in Lebanon, and Sayyid Muhammad al-Ghasiri, its representative in Damascus.

June 28: President Nasir signed a decree approving final plans for the Russian-backed Aswan high dam project.

June 29: A joint communiqué issued at the end of Emperor Haile Selassie's visit to Cairo said that special attention was paid to economic and cultural relations between Ethiopia and the UAR during this visit and another meeting was set for August to discuss a trade and payments agreement.

July 7: Muslims celebrated the new Hegira year—1379.

July 10: Nuclear aid for UAR, Thailand and Indonesia worth nearly one quarter of a million dollars was approved by the Board of Governors of the IAEA in Vienna.

July 13: A trade agreement which provides for exchanges of up to 1,880 million Moroccan francs during an initial period of one year was signed in Rabat by representatives of Morocco and the UAR.

July 14: Patriarch Theodosius of Antioch and All the East arrived in Moscow at the invitation of Alexius, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, to acquaint himself with the life of the Russian Orthodox Church.

July 19: An appeal was made by the African-Asian "people's solidarity" secretariat in Cairo for all peace-loving nations to join in a campaign to stop the proposed French atom bomb tests in the Sahara.

July 21: The exiled Imam of Oman, Ghalib bin 'Ali, arrived in Damascus from Jiddah.

A Syrian shepherd was killed when a Turkish land mine went off at Ein al-Arab on the frontier. Four Turkish soldiers who had infiltrated to the Syrian Khirb Nass post were arrested.

July 24: Ethiopia joined the signatories of the letter of July 10 sent by twenty-one Asian and African states to the President of the Security Council on the subject of Algeria (Doc. S/4195/Add.1).

July 30: As a result of talks between the UAR and Jordan, the border between Syria and Jordan—closed by Syria on June 5—was opened to normal traffic and trains.

Aug. 4: Tunisia, Iraq, and Jordan were absent from a meeting of the Arab League council in Cairo when Lieut. General 'Ali Amir, chief of staff of the UAR

* The quarterly chronology of the *Journal* is compiled from a large number of sources: somewhat more than half of the items are drawn from the *New York Times*; other sources include *Mideast Mirror* of Beirut, *Middle East Economic Digest* of London, *Daily Report of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service* of Washington, *Arab News and Views* of New York, bulletins of the United Nations Office of Public Information, United Nations, New York, *United Nations Newsletter*, *Middle East Economic Survey* of Beirut, *Economic Intelligence* of the Chamber of Commerce of Washington, *International Financial News Service* of the IMF in Washington, *Middle East Press Review*, *Middle East Economist and Financial Service*, and *Middle East Newsletter* of New York, regular and occasional bulletins from the offices of press attachés of Middle Eastern Embassies in Washington, *Kashmir Affairs* of Rawalpindi, *Israel Digest* of Jerusalem, *Iran Review* of London, and *The Egyptian Economic and Political Review* of Cairo.

army, took the oath of office as the League's assistant secretary-general for military affairs.

Aug. 5: Jordan decided to send an envoy to Cairo to negotiate for resumed diplomatic relations with the UAR.

Aug. 7: The new Cairo-Alexandria Delta Expressway opened in the UAR. The highway is 72 feet wide and 137 miles long.

Aug. 8: The Conference of Independent African States designated November 1 Algerian Day to be observed throughout Africa.

Aug. 9: A five-member UN mission will conduct a six-week narcotics survey in the Middle East this fall, it was announced.

Aug. 13: Lieut. General E. L. M. Burns, Commander of the UN Emergency Force, presented UNEF medals to 350 men of the Swedish contingent serving with the Force in the Gaza Strip.

Aug. 19: About \$40,000 were collected for Algerian nationalists at a dinner given in honor of a group of Algerian women visiting Damascus, UAR.

Aug. 23: The new UAR-Sudanese Solidarity Hospital was opened in Port Sa'id and was named in honor of the Sudan, which contributed \$300,000 to construction.

Aug. 30: Senator Fulbright said the US should formulate a long-range policy for the Middle East.

Sept. 1: Britain has told the UAR, Ethiopia, Sudan, and Belgium that three of her East African territories will need a larger share of Nile waters, it was announced.

The economic committee of the Central Treaty Organization opened a three-day meeting in Ankara to review progress in improving road, rail and radio links of member countries.

The Arab League Council (foreign ministers) began meetings in Casablanca, Morocco.

The Algerian people's struggle for independence got wholehearted support from all speakers at the opening of the Council.

Sept. 2: The League's political, financial, and economic committees met. Dr. Zayn al-din told the political committee that the UAR had carried out the League's decision to form military units among the Palestinians and recognize the separate existence of these people.

Sept. 3: The Tunisian Government has refused to attend the meeting unless the UAR releases Sayyid Salah Ben Youssef, it was disclosed.

Sept. 4: Acting Permanent Representative of Israel to the UN, Yosef Tekoah, brought to the attention of the Security Council "once again . . . the unlawful practices pursued by the UAR in violation of the UN Charter, Security Council decisions, and general principles of International law, by obstructing freedom of passage through the Suez Canal."

The League's economic committee approved a recommendation banning any film where actors were of Zionist origin or were known to be supporters of Israel.

King Sa'ud and President Nasir announced that they had agreed to renew full cooperation for the sake of Arabism.

Sept. 5: France and Tunisia signed a new financial and trade agreement permitting Tunisia to stay in the franc zone and giving preferential customs treatment to many French products entering Tunisia.

A League spokesman said that the UAR had suggested amending the reply to the Hammarskjöld report to the UNRWA in which he recommended eventual resettlement and integration of refugees into the economy of the Arab countries. The amendment calls for an international organization to look after and invest the revenue from Arab property in Israel and was approved by the political committee.

Sept. 6: King Husayn said in a *Sunday Times* interview that in spite of diplomatic relations with the UAR he would not accept any revival of the military convention of 1956 between Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan.

Sept. 7: An Arab League Council resolution in Casablanca avoided mention of the proposed Palestinian government and army because of disagreement mainly between the UAR and Jordan. Full decisions were deferred till January.

Sept. 8: The eight-day meeting of the Arab League Council ended. A UAR proposal on Palestine was rejected by Jordan.

Sept. 9: Three Norwegian unions representing seamen, engineers, and transport workers protested to the Norwegian Foreign Ministry against UAR action against ships carrying cargo from Israel.

Sept. 10: A WB spokesman said it had not so far decided on a loan to the UAR for widening the Suez Canal, as Cairo officials have claimed.

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld said his report on the Palestine Arab refugee problem had been widely misread. He had written that he did not see any possibility of solving the problem without economic development of the Middle East, "but I never said that economic development was the means by which the refugee problem could be solved."

Sept. 11: It was announced that the Ninth Session of the WHO Regional Committee for the Eastern Mediterranean opens on Monday, the 14th of September, at Alexandria. The five-day session of Sub-Committee A will be attended by representatives of Ethiopia, France, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, UAR, UK, and Yemen.

Sept. 12: Several disagreements between delegations at the Casablanca meeting had occurred, it was learned.

Aden

1959

July 17: For the first time in recorded history snow, which lasted forty-five minutes, fell about fifteen miles north of Aden in the Arabian Peninsula.

Sept. 9: It was officially announced that complete agreement had been reached between Qu'aiti and Kathiri states on sharing profits from oil concessions, and negotiations for the next stage in the oil search were expected to be held with Petroleum Concessions Ltd.

Afghanistan

1959

- June 16:* The Afghan press delegation which visited Teheran at the invitation of the Iranian press association returned to Kabul.
- July 10:* Soviet and Chinese artists have been invited to participate in celebrations commemorating the 41st anniversary of Afghan independence.
- July 12:* The Afghan delegation, headed by Ghulam Muhammad Sulayman, Under Secretary of the Afghan Foreign Ministry, left for Baghdad to participate in the July 14 celebrations in Iraq.
- July 16:* A military delegation headed by the Afghan Chief of Staff left for Turkey at the invitation of the Turkish army.
- July 20:* The National Assembly approved the economic and technical agreement signed earlier between the governments of Afghanistan and France.
- July 29:* A ten-man Afghan trade delegation headed by the president of the Afghan Ministry of Trade and Commerce arrived in New Delhi for talks on the renewal of the Indo-Afghan trade agreements.
- Aug. 2:* Upon the return of the Afghani economic mission to the Soviet Union, the leader, Ambassador Ghulam, reported that the talks resulted in an agreement which will further strengthen existing relations between the two countries, and in an agreement on the construction of the Kushka-Herat-Kandahar highway and the building of a local airport.
- The Afghani delegation which visited American cultural establishments returned to Kabul from the United States.
- Three Soviet oil experts who had been invited by the Afghani Oil Prospecting Administration arrived in Kabul.
- Aug. 10:* The Afghani military delegation returned to Kabul after visiting Turkey and the UAR.
- Aug. 11:* The Indo-Afghan trade agreement was renewed to provide for developing and balancing trade exchanges between the two countries.
- Aug. 15:* The head of the Afghani Press and Publication Department returned from Moscow where he met with the Soviet Education Minister and discussed the promotion of educational relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.
- Sept. 5:* Prince Muhammad Naim, Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister of Afghanistan, arrived in Peking with an entourage of officials of the Ministry of Commerce and the Ministry of Agriculture.
- Sept. 9:* The sixty-seven-year-old former King Amanullah of Afghanistan was reported to be in serious condition in a hospital in Italy.
- Sept. 14:* Communist China and Afghanistan have signed a joint communiqué in which they welcomed the exchange visits of President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev.
- Indian Prime Minister Nehru and his daughter, the president of India's ruling Congress party, arrived by air at Kabul for a four-day tour of the country.

Algeria

1959

- June 16:* French Premier Michel Debré told the Senate that the Government would publish a list of private concerns helping the Algerian rebels.
- June 17:* The Swiss Bank Corporation expressed astonishment at being accused of having received funds collected in France for the Algerian rebels.
- The Beretta arms manufacturing company of Italy denied a French charge that it had supplied weapons to Algerian insurgents.
- June 19:* The French Ministry of Interior ordered the seizure of a book accusing police officials of torturing Algerian rebel suspects arrested in Paris.
- Four hundred persons escaped to safety after a violent explosion set fire to a six-floor block of apartments and stores in an Algiers suburb.
- June 21:* Sixteen persons were injured by the explosion of a grenade thrown by an Algerian youth into a crowded cafe in a village near Algiers.
- June 22:* The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions protested against the continued detention by the French of an Algerian Trade Union leader.
- An attempt by French Leftists to arouse public opinion against the fighting in Algeria drew a warning from the Government that it would not tolerate any defense of rebellion or attack on the French Army.
- June 23:* Seven Algerians, apparently members of the rebel National Liberation Front, were massacred in a shantytown on the outskirts of Lyons by members of the rival Algerian National Movement.
- June 24:* During the fighting which took place five miles from Bône, the French forces killed thirty-one rebels and took sixteen prisoners.
- June 26:* Four left-of-center Senators criticized Government bills adopted by the Assembly to start the process of "integration" of Algeria and France.
- The editor of the weekly *L'Express*, a persistent critic of French policy in Algeria, was attacked by members of a Right-wing extremist veterans' group at Lyons.
- June 29:* George V. Allen, Director of the US Information Agency, assured France that President de Gaulle had the "whole-hearted support" of the US in his efforts to find an "equitable and liberal" solution in Algeria.
- June 30:* About 700 Algerians who had demanded treatment as political detainees rather than as criminals ended a two-week hunger strike.
- The French authorities ended the military deferment of a young European right-wing agitator in Algiers who has been critical of President de Gaulle.
- July 1:* The twenty-nine Asian-African states agreed unanimously on the tentative text of a letter requesting Secretary General Hammarskjöld to place the question of Algeria on the agenda of the next General Assembly.
- Two Algerian rebel chiefs died before a French firing squad in Oran.
- July 4:* Twenty-five French troops were killed in an ambush fifty miles southwest of Algiers.

A military spokesman for the General Secretariat of Algerian Affairs said the armed rebellion in Algeria is back to its beginnings in 1954.

July 5: French forces were searching the hills southwest of Algiers where a French military convoy was ambushed.

It was reported that Georges Aigrot, Mayor of the village of Paul-Robert in Algeria, was killed by nationalist insurgents at his home.

July 7: According to figures compiled by French sources, the number killed in the Algerian revolt stands at 114,500.

July 9: The Government of Ghana has decided to give de facto recognition to the rebel Provisional Government of Algeria.

July 12: The Socialist party, which continues to support President de Gaulle's efforts for peace in Algeria, told the President to hurry lest the political consequences of the Algerian war be disastrous for the Fifth Republic.

A communiqué said that 103 nationalists have been killed and seventy captured in a battle in the Hodna Mountains which serve as the major arsenal and training ground for the rebel army.

July 14: In a letter to Secretary General Hammarskjöld, the Asian and African states asked the UN General Assembly for another full-scale debate on the continuing conflict in Algeria.

As part of the Bastille Day celebrations, about 5,000 Muslims were ordered released from camps in Algeria where they had been interned by administrative decision on the suspicion that they were helping the rebellion against France.

At the opening session of the congress of the Socialist International at Hamburg, Germany, the French Socialist party was criticized on its position on Algeria.

Four ministers of the Algerian Provisional Government returned to Tunis from Cairo where they had been conferring since June.

Fifteen French soldiers were killed and ten were wounded in a rebel ambush near the Moroccan frontier.

July 16: The Ghana Government has received a message of appreciation from the Provisional Government of Algeria for extending recognition to it.

July 19: In Lyons, France, the police arrested about fifteen men identified as leaders of the local Algerian nationalist rebel movement.

The Provisional Government of Algeria accused the French Army of plotting to have French soldiers disguised as insurgents carry out massacres in Algerian villages.

July 21: A Muslim Deputy from Algeria proposed to the French National Assembly the formation of a commission of appeasement and reconciliation to end the nearly five years of violence in Algeria.

July 23: Spearheaded by nearly 1,000 paratroops, French land, sea and air forces have begun an offensive campaign in the mountainous Kabylia region.

July 24: Secretary General Hammarskjöld will fly to Paris next week to visit President de Gaulle.

In Paris, the forthcoming visit of Mr. Hammarskjöld has focused attention on the pessimistic outlook for

France in this year's debate on Algeria in the UN General Assembly.

According to the French high command, the offensive by 20,000 French troops against the rebel stronghold in Kabylia "is proceeding according to plan."

Seventeen Algerian nationalist students are in the US on public grants and scholarships. Seven of them have State Department grants even though the US does not recognize the Algerian nationality.

July 25: French troops continued to move into the Kabylia Mountain region swelling the number of soldiers to 30,000.

July 27: France is expected to demand US support of its policy in Algeria in the UN debate this fall.

According to a report on the first six days of the operation to rout the rebels from the Kabylia Mountain range, the French forces have yet to encounter the main body of rebels.

A hunger strike of Algerians in Rouen and Fresnes prisons spread today to jails in Versailles, Lille, Douai, Charleville and Chalon-sur-Marne.

July 30: The death of an Algerian labor leader of "accidental" burns while in French custody in Algiers, provoked a demand by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for an independent investigation.

Secretary General Hammarskjöld left for Paris for his first meeting with President de Gaulle.

July 31: Premier 'Abdallah Ibrahim of Morocco charged that Aysat Idir, an imprisoned Algerian labor union leader was "assassinated" by the French Army.

Aug. 1: The Algerian National Liberation Front urged that the UN support an international investigation into the death of Mr. Idir.

Secretary General Hammarskjöld left for New York after conferring with President de Gaulle and Premier Debré for two days.

Aug. 2: A French vice consul and a Moroccan administrative official were released after being held prisoner for more than forty-eight hours by Algerians.

The chief organizer of the rebels in the Oran area was killed in a gun battle with security forces.

Three delegates of the Algerian nationalist regime left for Monrovia, Liberia, to attend the conference of members of North and West African governments.

Aug. 4: President William Tubman of Liberia made an appeal before the delegates from nine independent African states and Algeria for both Algerian nationalists and France to "ease" their "extreme positions" and agree to a negotiated settlement.

Aug. 5: An Algerian Nationalist flag was raised on the Liberian capitol in Monrovia.

Aug. 6: It has been announced from Monrovia that Guinea will exchange diplomatic missions with the Provisional Government of Algeria.

Premier Debré flew to Algiers for a thirty-six hour visit to discuss military, administrative and economic problems with Muslim and French officials.

Aug. 7: General de Gaulle has decided to receive President Eisenhower after the latter's trip to London in order to enable the French President to make a scheduled trip to Algeria beginning August 27.

Muhammad Yazid, Algerian nationalist Information Minister, declared that his Government was preparing for "many years" of war.

Premier Michel Debré of France completed his brief visit in Algeria.

Aug. 8: Delegates from nine independent African states ended their conference in Monrovia with an appeal to peoples and governments of the world to "support and recognize the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic."

A spokesman for the Algerian rebel government said that 226 French soldiers had been killed by rebel forces in Algeria during the past three days.

Aug. 9: The French Government has not yet commented on the appeal by sixteen US Congressmen to negotiate for peace in Algeria.

Twenty-two rebels were killed and three wounded in a battle twenty-five miles east of Algiers.

Aug. 10: The French Minister Delegate concerned with atomic energy denied the rumor that France plans to explode an atomic bomb in the Sahara in the near future.

Aug. 13: The Moroccan Government has decided to take its protest against the projected French atomic explosion in the Sahara to the UN.

Aug. 14: Jacques Vergès, a left-wing lawyer from Paris, was expelled from Algeria by the police.

Aug. 15: The French Army in Algiers denied that French planes had bombed a Tunisian town.

Aug. 17: The French Army announced that its offensive in Kabylia has put 1,015 nationalist guerrilla fighters "out of action."

Farhat 'Abbas, Premier of the Algerian Provisional Government, will refuse to meet President Charles de Gaulle anywhere except on neutral territory.

Aug. 21: More than a thousand French army troops engaged in a battle against 100 Algerian nationalists near Aumale killed sixty-three of the rebels.

Aug. 22: A statement by Joseph Satterthwaite, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, that the US would like to see Algeria develop with France as a friend and partner has caused concern in diplomatic circles in France.

The Soviet newspaper *Pravda* expressed disapproval of the proposed French atomic bomb tests in the Sahara.

Aug. 25: "A high French official" called upon President de Gaulle to assume dictatorial powers to consolidate the French Community and settle the Algerian problem.

Aug. 26: President de Gaulle polled the views of his ministers in an effort to find a solution for the Algerian conflict.

Aug. 27: President de Gaulle flew to Algeria to begin four days of visits to the French Army units before meeting with President Eisenhower.

Aug. 28: President Charles de Gaulle's intentions concerning the Algerian problem remained unclear as he encouraged both conservatives and liberals.

Secretary of State Christian Herter and Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd are believed to have agreed to

support efforts by President de Gaulle to reach a "liberal solution" in Algeria.

An Algerian Muslim Senator was shot to death in the streets of Vichy.

Aug. 29: President de Gaulle promised a crowd of Muslims in Tebessa, Algeria, that "the Algerians will make their destiny themselves." This is to be done after peace has been restored.

Aug. 30: The French Army in Algeria has accepted the idea of self-determination as the ultimate goal for Algeria and has abandoned the previous goal of "integration" of Algeria as part of France.

Sept. 3: General de Gaulle's plan for ending the Algerian war calls for creating an Algerian-elected assembly and an Algerian executive.

Sept. 4: Authoritative Algerians in Morocco indicated that there will be no cease-fire in Algeria without negotiations between the nationalist rebels and the French Government because a statute handed to Algeria by President de Gaulle could not help solve the Algerian problem.

Sept. 6: A new wave of nationalist attacks was reported in several parts of Algeria.

Sept. 8: It was reported that about 1,000 Algerian prisoners have been on a hunger strike since August 27 in a camp at Mourmelon-le-Grand in northeastern France.

Premier Debré confirmed reports that President Eisenhower had given no commitment for US support for France on the Algerian question.

Sept. 10: President Charles de Gaulle will address the French nation on September 16 on Algeria's future.

The Executive Council of the French Community met to hear President de Gaulle's new proposals for settling the Algerian rebellion.

Sept. 11: The Premiers of the twelve autonomous African republics in the French Community have given their support to President de Gaulle's new attempt to settle the Algerian question.

Sept. 12: Algiers remained calm despite efforts of extremists to arouse feelings in anticipation of the forthcoming announcement of President de Gaulle's policy regarding Algeria.

Cyprus

1959

June 28: The general secretary of the Cyprus Communist party demanded that the British Government pay Cypriots the equivalent of the \$20,000,000 that Cyprus has spent to support British security forces on the island.

July 4: Archbishop Makarios and Dr. Fazil Kuchuk, Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders, called for full restoration of friendly relations between the two communities.

July 7: The Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders recommended to the British Governor, Sir Hugh Foot, that Cyprus remain in the sterling area for at least ten years.

July 17: Polycarpus Georgiadis, Cypriot Minister of Labor, and six other influential Cypriots arrived in

Athens to explain Archbishop Makarios' views to General George Grivas.

July 26: In a speech at the church of Ayios Nicolaos Archbishop Makarios attacked General George Grivas and Athenian politicians who have been criticizing the London Settlement of the Cyprus dispute.

July 27: Dr. Fazil Kuchuk, Turkish Cypriot leader, warned General Grivas not to interfere in the affairs of the island.

In a speech to Cypriot workers and students in Athens General Grivas warned that he might renew underground activity on Cyprus.

July 29: In a statement from Athens, General Grivas said that the agreements settling the Cyprus dispute had been signed without his being consulted, and that he had "dissociated" himself from them.

Aug. 1: A delegation from Cyprus left Moscow for Communist China after a three-week visit in Russia.

Aug. 2: Henry Mudd, president of the American-owned Cyprus Mines Corporation, has donated \$14,000 to Archbishop Makarios for Greek Cypriot victims of the Cyprus fight for independence.

Aug. 8: Bishop Anthimos of Kitium, the second-ranking churchman in Cyprus, arrived in Athens for a three-week visit during which he is expected to confer with General Grivas.

Aug. 9: Bishop Kyprianos of Kyrenia, who has sided with General Grivas who still wants Cyprus united with Greece, was shouted down in the village of Galini when he criticized the recent agreement to give independence to Cyprus.

Aug. 10: General Grivas refused to see Bishop Anthimos of Kitium, Cyprus.

Aug. 12: General Grivas had an audience with King Paul of Greece on the Island of Corfu.

The smooth transition of Cyprus from a British colony to an independent state has, according to reports, been threatened by the revival of a move for union with Greece, a search for a suspected arms factory, and a dispute at the constitutional talks over the proposed powers of the President and Vice President.

Aug. 13: The secretary general of the communistic A.K.E.L. party outlined the political program of the left wing in Cyprus.

Aug. 15: While Archbishop Makarios condemned the revival of a campaign for political union of Cyprus and Greece, Bishop Kyprianos of Kyrenia praised General Grivas and left-wing activities.

Aug. 17: General Grivas suggested to week-end crowds in northern Greece that he might be called to power through "resolutions of popular organizations and the working classes."

Aug. 19: Governor Sir Hugh Foot refused permission for the Communist-controlled A. K. E. L. party to hold a congress in Cyprus on August 28-30.

Aug. 21: The Communist party in Cyprus has decided to postpone its three-day congress.

Aug. 22: Greek Foreign Minister Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza charged General George Grivas with being "possessed with morbid arrogance."

Aug. 23: Guards at the Nicosia central prison quelled a

riot which followed an attempted escape by a gang of prisoners.

Aug. 27: The police chiefs of Cyprus met following the daylight assassination of a Turkish police sergeant.

Aug. 30: Mobile police patrols in the main towns of Cyprus began carrying arms for the first time since the London disarmament agreement of last February.

Sept. 5: Observers in Athens assume from General Grivas' recent statements that Greece needs "self-confidence and leadership" that the former head of the Greek Cypriot underground organization intends to enter Greek politics.

Sept. 12: General George Grivas has asked Archbishop Makarios to meet him in an attempt to end the strife dividing the Greek community in Cyprus.

Sept. 13: Archbishop Makarios has given no indication that he has accepted the invitation from General Grivas to visit Athens.

Ethiopia and the Somalilands

1959

June 22: Trygve Lie, the first Secretary General of the United Nations arrived in New York to do research on the assignment given to him by King Olav V of Norway to narrow a border dispute between Italy and Ethiopia on Somalia.

June 24: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia arrived in Cairo on a five-day state visit to discuss problems of mutual concern to Ethiopia and Egypt.

June 25: Ethiopian Airlines reported that 1958 was the best year in its thirteen-year history.

June 27: Italy approved the nomination of a ten-member Government in its United Nations trust territory of Somalia. The new cabinet ministers are:

'Abdallah 'Isa—Premier and Interior Minister

Hafiz 'Umar Segeo—Minister Without Portfolio

Mahmud Muhammad Faraf—Minister of Reprieves and Justice

'Uthman Ahmad Roble—Minister of Finance

Farah 'Ali 'Umar—Minister of Industry and Commerce

Mahmud 'Abd al-Nur—Minister of Public Works and Communications

Salah 'Abd al-Nur—Minister of Agriculture and Zootechny

Mahmud Yusuf Aden—Minister of Education

'Ali Giuamle—Minister of Veterinarian Sanitation and Labor

'Abd al-Nur Muhammad Husayn—Minister of General Affairs

It is reported that Emperor Haile Selassie may be seeking financial and technical assistance, both governmental and private, from countries behind the Iron Curtain on his present trip, in order to execute his five-year development program.

June 29: Emperor Haile Selassie began a two-week stay in Russia where he will confer with officials and tour the country.

July 2: The six-man Somali delegation, headed by the

Somaliland Education Minister, arrived in Karachi to study the village aid program in Pakistan.

July 5: The Emperor of Ethiopia arrived at Sochi, the Black Sea resort city.

July 6: Emperor Haile Selassie arrived in Yalta aboard a Soviet cruiser.

July 12: A joint communiqué issued in Moscow announced that the Soviet Government has agreed to extend a long-term credit of a maximum of 400 million rubles at low interest to help develop Ethiopia's industry and agriculture.

July 13: Emperor Haile Selassie arrived at Prague for a four-day visit at the invitation of President Antonin Novotny of Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia has agreed to equip eight Ethiopian hospitals and supply four others in the course of the next four years.

July 17: The King of Belgium gave a dinner for the Emperor of Ethiopia in the Royal Palace.

July 20: French President Charles de Gaulle greeted Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie at the Orly airfield in France.

July 21: The Emperor of Ethiopia visited the headquarters of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in Paris.

July 26: Emperor Haile Selassie arrived in Lisbon on a six-day state visit of Portugal.

Aug. 3: Trygve Lie met with representatives of Ethiopia and Italy to mediate the border dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia.

Aug. 15: Emperor Haile Selassie arrived in Yugoslavia to spend ten days conferring with President Tito and touring the northwestern part of the country.

Aug. 18: The visit of Bishop Theophilos of the Ethiopian Coptic Church to the Soviet Union is expected to renew talk of closer liaison between the Russian and Ethiopian churches.

Aug. 21: The official Ethiopian newspaper charged that Italy is obstructing the final delineation of the border between Ethiopia and Somalia.

Aug. 27: In a speech in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, Emperor Haile Selassie warned the big powers that all of the United Nations must participate in negotiations to settle the East-West issues.

Sept. 4: Henry Loomis, director of the Voice of America, arrived in Addis Ababa to confer with Ethiopian radio officials and inspect radio facilities.

Iran

1959

June 17: Dr. Jalal Abdoh, Iran's chief of mission to the United Nations since 1955, will leave for Teheran next week to assume his duties as the new Foreign Minister of Iran.

Dr. Abdoh's position as commissioner to supervise plebiscites in the British Cameroons, a UN trust territory, will not be able to be filled until the 1959 session begins September 15.

June 22: The Shah of Iran has ordered the Iranian Am-

bassador to Turkey, Hasan Arfaa, to file charges in the Turkish press court against the weekly news magazine *Akis* regarding three articles about the Shah's reported search for a new queen.

June 23: The state security organization announced in Teheran that the press attaché at the Soviet Embassy, Fyodor Saulchenkov, had been expelled for harmful activities and for interfering in the internal affairs of Iran.

The Shah opened the new Baghdad Pact Nuclear Center at Teheran University to replace the former one in Baghdad. Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, and Britain will cooperate in research and training in the uses of radioactive isotopes.

June 25: The International Finance Corporation announced an agreement to invest \$300,000 in Sherkat Sahami Kahkashan, a company entirely owned by Iranian businessmen, for the construction and operation of a ceramic tile plant in Teheran.

July 22: Lew Gardner, a reporter for the *London Sunday Express*, was ordered expelled by the Government of Iran on the grounds that he had entered a prohibited zone without permission.

July 28: The British Government has protested to the Soviet Union "at the highest level" about the Soviet broadcasts in Persian denouncing Shah Muhammad Riza Pahlavi of Iran and his Government.

Aug. 11: Russia and Iran stopped their verbal propaganda war on the frontier and began talks in an attempt to patch up their quarrel.

Aug. 14: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development announced this week that a \$5.2 million loan formed by private investors from Iran, the US, the UK, France, Belgium, Germany, Holland and Italy will be made available to the Industrial Mining Development Bank of Iran to help finance the development of private industry in Iran.

Aug. 20: Anti-Soviet demonstrations were staged throughout Iran as the country celebrated the sixth anniversary of the overthrow of Premier Muhammad Mossadegh. Soviet embassy staff were ordered to stay indoors.

Aug. 30: Dr. Arthur C. Boyce, a retired Presbyterian missionary educator in Iran, died in California. For twenty-five years he had been vice president of Alborz College in Teheran.

Sept. 13: The Shah of Iran has postponed his visit to Jordan until October.

Iraq

1959

June 21: Dr. Ibrahim Kubbah, Minister of Economy, announced that Poland has offered to buy crude oil from Iraq and that a delegation is expected in Baghdad to discuss the deal.

June 22: An Iraqi Government spokesman denied an Egyptian newspaper report that Premier Qasim had foiled a Communist plot.

The Iraqi Government has announced that it will leave the sterling area.

June 23: Consequential to Iraq's departure from the sterling area, the Bank of England issued an exchange control notice to give administrative effect to the removal of Iraq from the list of scheduled territories.

June 24: The Iraqi Communist party newspaper said that official telegrams had been sent from Baghdad allegedly ordering the arrest of Communists and leaders of "democratic" organizations throughout Iraq.

June 25: Col. Mahdawi, president of the People's Court, said that the Iraqi Army has been armed with nuclear weapons.

The Iraqi Government is reputed to have negotiated a \$100,000,000 arms contract with the Soviet Union, but reports from Baghdad have stressed that Iraq was prepared to obtain renewed arms shipments from the West.

June 26: Gen. 'Abd al-Karim Qasim plans for the pro-Communist militia known as the Popular Resistance Forces to revert to ordinary activities and to be armed only as required in training routines or for special missions.

June 29: A United National Front has been formed by the Communist, National Democratic and Kurdish Democratic parties in a reported attempt by the Communist party to force Premier Qasim to permit continued political party activity in the country.

July 2: The Ministry of Economy has announced that Iraq and Czechoslovakia have agreed to barter 5,500 tons of Iraqi dates for about 150 Czech cars.

July 5: Premier Qasim told the Communists to halt their attempts to form a popular front. He also put all units of the Popular Resistance Force under direct army control.

July 8: A trade and payments agreement with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was signed in Baghdad.

July 13: Premier Qasim has expanded the Iraqi Cabinet to include four new ministers who are:

- Dr. Naziha Dulaimi—Municipalities
- Dr. Faysal al-Samir—Guidance
- 'Awni Yusuf—Works and Rehabilitation
- 'Abd al-Latif al-Shawwaf—Commerce

Iraq prepared to celebrate the first anniversary of the overthrow of the monarchy.

July 14: Activity which began with a 21-gun salute at 6 A. M., and included an impressive parade by the Iraqi Army to celebrate the first anniversary of the Iraqi revolution, was highlighted by Premier Qasim's speech in which he promised to restore political life in Iraq and hold elections within the next year.

The new Iraqi flag which was flown for the first at the UN is black, white and green with an eight-pointed red star in the center of the vertical white stripe, and within this star is a yellow circle bordered in white.

July 15: More than 500,000 persons gave Premier Qasim an ovation as he reviewed a colorful five-hour procession devoted mainly to proclaiming loyalty to him.

July 17: About 1,200 peasants received a total of 10,000 acres of land in the first distribution under the Iraqi agrarian reform plan.

Premier Qasim opened a model village with homes for 100 families, a school, and a dispensary at Latifiya.

July 19: The Iraqi Government has disclosed that "many people" died in clashes between rival groups in Kirkuk last week.

The pro-Communist revolt and army mutiny at Kirkuk brought a declaration from Premier Qasim that he would "settle accounts" with the Communists and mutineers.

British Foreign Office reports from the Middle East indicate that British oil installations and personnel in Kirkuk were not affected by last week's rioting.

US Middle East experts saw no likelihood that the Communists would take control of Iraq at this time. **July 20:** The Baghdad radio said that the Iraqi Government had cancelled some celebrations of a national holiday this week as unconfirmed reports of continued fighting in northern Iraq reached Beirut.

The British Foreign Office estimated that fifty persons were killed last week in the Kirkuk riots.

Government bonds valued at five million dinars were issued for subscription by the public and banks.

July 21: Premier Khrushchev of the Soviet Union has invited Premier Qasim of Iraq to pay a state visit to the Soviet Union.

Premier Khrushchev's invitation to Premier Qasim was interpreted in Washington as a reflection of Soviet concern over anti-Communist developments in Iraq.

July 23: Iraq and Communist North Korea signed a cultural agreement and a trade and payments agreement in Baghdad.

July 24: Oil operations in Iraq are proceeding at a record pace despite the revolution and the other disquieting incidents.

July 25: Iraq has decided to conclude an agreement with Britain for scholarships, cultural exchanges and technical fairs.

July 29: Premier Qasim accused the Communists of plotting simultaneous uprisings in all major cities of Iraq on July 14.

Aug. 2: The nationalist newspaper, *al-Hurriyah*, whose press was attacked and damaged allegedly by "anarchists" about three months ago, resumed publication today.

Aug. 3: Premier Qasim announced that seventy-nine persons had been killed—forty of them buried alive—in recent disturbances in Kirkuk.

The Iraqi Communist party publicly condemned itself for "criminal acts, emotionalism and miscalculations."

Aug. 5: Premier Qasim has accepted an invitation by Premier Khrushchev to visit the Soviet Union. No date has been set.

Aug. 6: Iraq and Britain began talks towards a cultural agreement between the two countries.

Aug. 7: The UN Technical Assistance Board has appointed Jens Flenik Malling of Sweden resident representative in Iraq.

Iraq has sent an emissary to Russia to secure an agreement for Iraq to receive technical and material help in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Aug. 8: In response to Iraq's request, the UN Children's

Fund plans to help that country carry out an extensive child aid program.

An Iraqi delegation, headed by Iraq's Minister of Planning, arrived in Moscow to discuss economic collaboration between Iraq and the Soviet Union.

Aug. 9: Premier Qasim distributed title deeds for 25,000 acres of agrarian reform land to peasants in the Lati-fiyah area.

Aug. 12: Brig. Nadhim Tabaqchali, former commander of the Second Division in Kirkuk, and eight other officers and one civilian went on trial before a special military court on charges of complicity in a mutiny against the Iraqi régime last March.

Aug. 13: Colonel al-Mahdawi, president of the Baghdad "people's court," has admitted that witnesses have been tortured.

Aug. 14: A Commerce Ministry committee has accepted seventeen of fifty-six factories for small industries offered by East Germany to the Iraqi Government.

Iraq began work on an 18 million-dollar, broad-gauged railway between Baghdad and Basra.

Aug. 19: The Baghdad "people's court" sentenced five Iraqi Army officers to death before a firing squad and a civilian to the gallows for having participated in an unsuccessful rebellion in March.

The trial of Brig. Tabaqchali was continued.

Aug. 20: Ibrahim Kubbah, Agrarian Reform Minister, said that Iraq has signed an agreement with the Soviet Government agency, Techno-Export, for the provision of thirty-four Soviet experts and ten translators to help Iraq implement her agrarian reforms.

Aug. 22: According to a communiqué published by *Tass*, the Soviet press agency, the Soviet Union is planning to help Iraq launch a program of atomic research for peaceful purposes.

Aug. 25: Five Iraqi Army officers and a civilian were executed for complicity in a plot which the prosecution said was designed to annex Iraq to the UAR.

Sept. 2: Iraqi authorities have blacklisted twenty-four British, eleven American, seven Swiss, seven Dutch, five West German, four French, four Italian, four Norwegian, two Greek, one Rumanian and one Danish ship for engaging in business transactions with Israel.

Sept. 11: An Iraqi cultural delegation returned from Ankara where talks were held between Iraq and Turkey.

Israel

1959

June 16: The Minister of Finance introduced extensive changes in Israel's investment laws in an effort to attract more foreign capital.

June 18: Mrs. Golda Meir, Foreign Minister of Israel, arrived in Venezuela for a six-day visit at the invitation of the Venezuelan government.

June 21: At the opening of the two-day national conference of the United Jewish Appeal in New York, William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court praised Israel as "a great bastion of freedom and justice along the Mediterranean."

The president of the Zionist Organization of America said that "unlike Premier Gamal Nasir and Egypt," Israel could not be used as a pawn in the East-West struggle.

June 22: Dutch shipbuilding experts began talks on plans for the construction of a shipyard at Haifa.

June 23: Within the next ten years Israel is planning on increasing its number of beef cattle from 35,000 to 100,000 head.

An Israeli construction company and the Burmese Defense Services Institute signed an agreement setting up a joint enterprise to build new homes and bridges in Burma.

June 24: The director general of the Ministry of Defense has resigned to run for the Knesset on the ticket of Premier Ben-Gurion's Mapai party.

Foreign Minister Golda Meir arrived in Rio de Janeiro for an eight-day visit to Brazil as part of her eight-nation tour of Latin America.

June 25: Ogden Reid, the new Ambassador to Israel, conferred with President Eisenhower before leaving for Israel on June 28.

Patrick Francis Hancock, Britain's No. 3 diplomat at the Geneva foreign ministers' talks, has been named British Ambassador to Israel.

June 26: Two coalition parties in the Government of Premier Ben-Gurion have denounced the sale of Israeli-made arms to West Germany.

The Defense Ministry of West Germany confirmed the report that it signed a contract last March for about \$3,000,000 worth of mortar ammunition from an Israeli arms manufacturer.

June 28: Premier David Ben-Gurion has informed leaders of the Mapai party that he will resign if the Left-wing labor parties in his coalition Government continue their attacks on the sale of Israeli-manufactured arms to West Germany.

A government-owned tubercular hospital has been cut back from 1,450 beds to 750 since the incidence of tuberculosis in Israel has dropped to the level of advanced countries.

June 29: Premier Ben-Gurion walked out of a Cabinet after two ministers refused to apologize for their action in opposing the sale of armaments to West Germany.

Several West German concerns have signed a contract with Israel to provide the state-owned electric power company with \$10,000,000 worth of equipment.

June 30: Israel's Cabinet crisis neared a climax after two parties in Premier Ben-Gurion's coalition voted against him in a Parliamentary committee meeting. Mr. Ben-Gurion announced earlier that he would not continue as Premier if all the parties in the coalition did not support him.

July 1: The Israeli Prime Minister won the Knesset's backing for his sale of arms to West Germany.

The Rabbinical Council of America formulated plans for the establishment of an academic center in Israel to serve as "an instrumentality for the building of a cultural and religious bridge between Israel and the American Jews."

July 2: Abba Eban has been replaced as Ambassador to the US by Mr. Harman, former counselor for information at the Israeli Embassy in Washington.

Ogden Reid, the new US Ambassador to Israel, presented his credentials to President Itzhak Ben-Zvi.

July 3: Premier Ben-Gurion was reported to be considering calling an early general election in an effort to oust from his coalition government four ministers of two Left-wing parties.

July 4: A spokesman for the Mapai party announced that Premier Ben-Gurion will submit his Government's resignation tomorrow unless four "rebel" Cabinet ministers resign.

July 5: Premier David Ben-Gurion resigned and brought to an end the four-party coalition that has been governing Israel. The announcement was followed by a request from President Ben-Zvi for Mr. Ben-Gurion and the leaders of the Mapai party to form a new Government.

July 6: President Itzhak Ben-Zvi began consultations with Israel's political parties on the possibility of forming a new Government.

According to the Israeli Finance Ministry, West Germans have bought about \$175,000 worth of shares in the Israeli development loan.

Eliahu Elath, Israeli Ambassador to Britain, and Eliashiv Ben-Horin, head of the African Division of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, are studying possibilities of increasing the diamond trade with East Africa.

July 7: The major Opposition parties have apparently ruled out any possibility that Premier Ben-Gurion could form a minority government that would exclude the direct participation of "rebel" Left-wing ministers.

July 8: Abba Eban said in his inaugural speech after his induction as president of the Weizmann Institute of Science that the world faced serious peril because the advancements made by modern science were not getting to the nations that needed them the most.

An Israeli Foreign Ministry source said that the question of Israel's re-establishing diplomatic relations with West Germany has not been brought up in recent years because West Germany was "not ready for this."

July 12: Representatives of the two Left-wing labor parties that broke with Premier Ben-Gurion met with President Ben-Zvi and informed him that a caretaker government, at present under the direction of David Ben-Gurion, appeared to be the only solution until general elections can be held in the fall.

July 15: David Ben-Gurion has accepted President Ben-Zvi's request to try to form a new Government, but the Premier is pessimistic about the results.

July 17: An agreement to complete a 16-inch oil pipeline from Elath, at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba, to Haifa, on the Mediterranean, was signed by the Israeli Government and a group of investors headed by Baron de Rothschild who would invest more than £7,000,000.

Premier Ben-Gurion has abandoned his attempt to form a new Government.

July 19: A report presented by a special Cabinet committee has requested that the restrictions on Israel's Arab citizens be eased.

July 21: David Ben-Gurion's inability to form a new coalition to replace Israel's caretaker Government means that the same Cabinet will remain in office until the elections this fall, but that the Government will no longer be obliged to vote together as a unit.

The Israeli Cabinet held a meeting to discuss recent violent disturbances in several parts of the country, particularly in Migdal Haemek and Beersheba.

July 22: The Knesset approved a recommendation by the Minister of Police and the Cabinet that the police use all possible means to prevent any further riots.

July 23: Leaders of Reform Judaism in the US charged in Tel Aviv that similar movements in Israel were encountering discriminations such as being denied facilities for services.

July 25: Dr. Isaac Halevi Herzog, 70-year-old Chief Rabbi of Israel, died in Jerusalem.

July 26: Dr. Herzog was buried in Sanhedria Cemetery in the Judean hills. Six days of national mourning have been declared.

In a statement issued by Label Katz, president of B'nai B'rith, Rabbi Herzog was described as being "first and foremost a builder of Israel."

July 29: Bitter attacks on Israel in speeches this week by Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir are regarded in Israel as an effort to improve his relations with the other Arab states rather than a serious threat of war.

Aug. 1: The leaders of a North African immigrants' association were being held by the police on suspicion of having staged a riot last night in which seven were hurt in the Wadi Salib quarter of Haifa.

Aug. 2: The Israeli Cabinet discussed renewed rioting by dissatisfied Jewish immigrants from North Africa.

Aug. 4: Special restrictions on the movement of Israeli Arabs will be eased beginning this week when they will be permitted to travel freely, during the day, to most major communities.

Aug. 6: Israel's third Knesset adjourned to prepare for the general elections on November 3.

Aug. 7: Discussions in London between Britain and Israel about the services of the airlines operated by the two nations have ended in agreement on all points.

Aug. 16: Abraham Harman, Israel's Ambassador-designate to the US, left by air for Washington.

Aug. 19: A special investigating committee reported that there was a widespread feeling among Jewish immigrants from North Africa that they were being discriminated against by Israelis from Western countries.

Aug. 22: Israel has taken her \$2,700,000 claim for compensation from Bulgaria for the shooting down of an Israeli airliner in 1955 directly to the Bulgarian Government.

The Cabinet has authorized the Minister of Education and Culture to spend 30,000 Israeli pounds to aid the ten youth movements sponsored by, or affiliated with, Israel's major political parties.

Aug. 24: In November British Overseas Airways Corporation will resume its service to Israel which was suspended in 1955.

Aug. 25: Israel has asked the Universal Postal Union in

- Switzerland to recover mail impounded by the UAR in the Suez Canal.
- Aug. 30: The Soviet Government newspaper, *Izvestia*, accused the Israeli Government of "doing its best to drag the country into a military hell."
- Aug. 31: Israel complained again to the Security Council over the stoppage by the UAR of her cargoes sent in neutral ships through the Suez Canal.
- Sept. 1: Abraham Harman arrived in the US to take up his new post as Ambassador of Israel.
- Sept. 5: The Israel Bond Organization announced in Chicago an intensive effort to achieve the sale of \$400,000,000 in Israel Bonds by September 18.
- Sept. 7: Israel has transported a torpedo boat 249 miles overland to avoid the Suez Canal ban imposed by the UAR.
- Sept. 8: Twenty-six political parties submitted lists of candidates in the race for the 120 seats in Israel's fourth Knesset.
- Sept. 9: Teachers at more than 100 secondary schools throughout Israel went on a two-day strike for a 20 per cent salary increase.
- Sept. 13: Israel Rokach, 63-year-old Deputy Speaker of the Israeli Knesset, died after a heart attack.
- Sept. 14: The president of Hadassah, the women's Zionist organization of America, emphasized that Israel was a sovereign state and that there must be no Zionist interference in Israel's political life.

Jordan

1959

- June 15: Preliminary talks began between the Jordanian Government and Mr. John Noble, of the American Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company (Tapline), on amending the company's agreement with Jordan with a view to increasing transit royalties.
- June 18: King Husayn left the military hospital in Amman after a medical check for a complaint of sinusitis. The results have shown a satisfactory improvement.
- June 22: The Jordanian Government approved today a law providing for the establishment of a court to try persons accused of disturbing or plotting against state security.
- June 24: A delegation consisting of three ministers left Amman for Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Sudan with messages from King Husayn to King Sa'ud, Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, and Lieut. General Ibrahim 'Abbud, in an attempt to "forget feuds," clear the Arab atmosphere, give priority to Arab issues requiring urgent attention, unite the Arabs, study Mr. Hammarskjöld's report, and prepare Arab countries for the next meeting of the UN General Assembly by holding contacts with friendly supporters of the Arab cause.
- June 25: The delegation left Riyadh, Saudi Arabia for Kuwait, after having had an audience with King Sa'ud and Premier Fayal.
- June 28: Jordan's Grand Mufti, Shaykh 'Abdallah

Qalaili has issued an appeal to all Muslims to assist the Algerian insurgents by supplying them with men and money for their fight against France.

- June 29: Security forces arrested nine Communists including Khalid 'Ali al-Sayad of Jenin, who had been sentenced in absentia to life imprisonment for organizing armed bands.
- July 21: Britain paid Jordan £1 million as the first installment of £2 million in aid towards budget expenses. The second installment will be paid in six months time.
- Aug. 2: Jordan's Development Board appropriated \$105,000 for improvements at the Amman and Jerusalem airports.

King Husayn announced that Jordan would re-establish diplomatic relations with the UAR "in the near future" and hinted his willingness to re-establish relations with Iraq eventually.

A decree approved by cabinet decision discharged Jordan's Ambassador to London, Ihsan Hashim. Jordan's Ambassador to Nationalist China, 'Azmi Nashashibi was also removed from his post.

- Aug. 3: Dr. Sayad Karim, a town planning specialist of the UN, arrived at Amman at the request of the Jordanian Government to plan Aqaba as an industrial, commercial and residential town.
- Aug. 6: The Government of Jordan earmarked \$90,000 in its budget to aid the Algerian Provisional Government, it was announced in Amman last week.
- Aug. 7: Informed sources in Amman said Jordan and the UAR will re-establish relations broken off after the Iraqi revolt last year.
- Aug. 9: In Amman a royal decree has approved the discharge from the Jordanian armed forces of twenty-two officers, ranking from lieutenant colonel down to second lieutenant. No reason was given.
- Aug. 12: The trial of 17 Jordanian ex-army officers and a civilian accused of plotting to overthrow the régime began before the state security court in Amman. Four of the officers were absent.
- Aug. 15: Premier Hazza' Majali lifted all restrictions imposed on foreign correspondents by former Premier Samir al-Rifa'i.
- Aug. 22: Dr. Rif'at Uday, described by the prosecutor as the "mainspring" of an army plot against King Husayn's régime repudiated his confession and denied all knowledge of the plot before the State Security Court.

Kashmir

1959

- July 5: One of the worst floods of recent years has killed three people and cut off hundreds of villages in the Kashmir Valley. Three-fourths of the rice crop in the Valley is under water, and the Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi Rivers are still rising.
- July 12: A number of Hindus and Muslims of India have addressed a memorandum to Pakistani President Khan and Indian Prime Minister Nehru advocating a settlement of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the wishes of the people of the state.

Aug. 7: In a letter to the President of the Security Council, India charged "a further violation by the Government of Pakistan of the sovereignty of the Union of India and of its territory in Jammu and Kashmir, and of the provisions of the resolution of the Security Council. . . ."

Sept. 1: In a statement at Dacca, Pakistan, President Khan said that Mr. Nehru had told him that Kashmir was a problem that could be solved.

Sept. 9: Pakistan protested to the Security Council against new moves to incorporate parts of Kashmir into India as a part of a systematic attempt toward "full integration" of Kashmir with India.

Lebanon

1959

June 21: Dr. Basil 'Abbud, a Falange candidate, was elected today in a southern district to fill a seat in Parliament left vacant by the death in May of Farid Cozma.

June 23: A cultural agreement between Lebanon and Turkey was signed.

June 25: A new financial agreement between Lebanon and France, replacing the financial agreement of 1948, was signed. By this agreement France guarantees the exchange rate of Lebanon's French franc assets until they are liquidated, and Lebanon assures French companies in Lebanon against double taxation.

A Mexican mission arrived in Beirut on its tour of oil-producing and oil-transit countries of the Middle East.

June 27: Mgr. Paul Ma'ushi, the Maronite Patriarch, received the representative of the provisional Algerian government in Lebanon.

June 28: An armed clash between two Lebanese tribes on the Syrian border resulted in two persons being killed and twelve others wounded.

One hundred thousand dollars of counterfeit notes and checks were confiscated from two Lebanese who were trying to smuggle them to Khartoum.

June 29: One man was killed and six were wounded in a tribal clash following the kidnapping of a girl.

July 1: The Lebanese Cabinet rejected the report of Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the UN, on the future of the Palestinian refugees. The Cabinet endorsed the idea of a foreign ministers' meeting of Arab states to discuss the report.

July 5: Raymond Eddé, the Minister of Interior, has promised protection for former Premier Sami al-Sulh who returned from exile in France.

July 6: Lebanon's first television company has gone into operation on two channels, one in Arabic and the other in English and French.

July 21: The US Government's development loan fund has authorized a loan of \$5,000,000 to enable Lebanon to make credits to industrial enterprises.

July 27: Na'im Mughabghab, a former Cabinet Minister and member of Parliament, was beaten, stoned and

kicked to death on his way to President Shihab's summer palace.

July 28: The denunciation by political groups on all sides of the assassination of Mr. Mughabghab has dampened fears that the attack would lead to a civil war similar to the one which caused the US marines to enter Lebanon last year.

July 31: Lebanon has acceded to the Universal Copyright Convention which gives to foreign works the same protection as that given to national works.

Aug. 2: Lebanese aircraft attacked the village of Erawbah in northern Lebanon to quell clashes between villagers and tribesmen.

Aug. 3: Accusations of allegiance to Israel instead of Lebanon were levelled against the Lebanese Jewish community in a Parliamentary debate over a bill dealing with the right of Jews to buy Lebanese land.

Aug. 18: The Prime Minister opened the seventh conference of Arab engineers in Beirut.

The British Ballet Rambert made its first appearance at the Baalbek international festival.

Aug. 21: The prosecution has requested the death sentence for three men not in custody who are accused of murdering Mr. Mughabghab. The accused, including those charged with aiding and abetting the murder, will be tried *in absentia* by the state council if they cannot be arrested.

Sept. 4: The Lebanese basketball team at the World University Games forfeited a match rather than play against Israel.

Sept. 8: Premier Karami will head the Lebanese delegation to the UN General Assembly and will hand the gavel to the incoming president in place of Dr. Charles Malik who will not be a member of the delegation.

Archbishop Makarios announced that a Lebanese official delegation will discuss with him next week the position in the new constitution of Cyprus of the 6,000 Maronite Christians in Cyprus who claim Lebanese descent.

Libya

1959

July 12: American Overseas Petroleum, Ltd., announced that a drill seismic test at its Bada well recovered oil at a rate of 875 barrels a day from 4,000 feet. This is the second biggest oil strike after the one at Zeltan, south of Agheila.

Aug. 12: An IMF Press release disclosed that an initial par value for the Libyan pound, at 0.357143 Libyan pound per US dollar, has been established by an agreement between Libya and the IMF.

Sept. 3: Col. S. W. Griffith, commander of the USAF's Wheelus base, said that expenditure there had benefited the Tripoli area's economy by about 2,719,346 Libyan pounds in the fiscal year from July 1, 1958 to June 30 last.

Sept. 11: The UAR ambassador to Libya presented a gift of arms to the Libyan Defense Minister.

Morocco

1959

June 23: The leader of the conservative Independence party announced that the problem of American, French, and Spanish troops "still occupying" Moroccan soil should be brought up before the UN if negotiations on their evacuation bring no results.

June 24: The Moroccan Minister of Economy has announced that the US has agreed to grant Morocco \$40,000,000 in the form of a long-term, low-interest loan to be spent on irrigation, road building and modernization of agriculture.

June 25: Government censorship of all commercial radio news broadcasts, except the Voice of America, went into effect in accordance with a law providing for supervision of all nonstate radio transmissions.

July 1: Morocco and the US moved nearer to a solution of the base problem when a Moroccan organization replaced the French group assigned to recruit local labor for the US bases.

The opening of the new Bank of Morocco which will issue currency, provide credit for other banks, and handle foreign exchange and monetary transfers has been hailed as the first step in freeing the country's economy from French and other foreign banking interests.

July 4: In answer to the recent French decision to block Morocco's access to the franc zone foreign currency pool, the Moroccan Government has established control over all capital transfers with other countries in the franc zone. The new measures do not apply to Tangier.

July 5: The King of Morocco left on a six to eight week rest tour of Europe.

July 8: Morocco inaugurated the opening of the annual three-day Youth Festival in Casablanca.

July 12: King Muhammad V arrived at Montreux, Switzerland to vacation until his scheduled meeting with President de Gaulle near Paris in August.

July 15: Premier 'Abdallah Ibrahim said that Morocco still favors a meeting between King Muhammad V and General Charles de Gaulle of France in spite of increased tension between the two countries.

July 23: It was reported that talks between the King of Morocco and the President of France will probably be delayed until after August 10 because some members of the Algerian Provisional Government are opposed to any action which might appear to be a concession by them to France and because the Algerian nationalists wish to keep the Monrovia conference of independent African states free from "competition" for world attention.

July 25: The Moroccan Cabinet met for seven hours reportedly to discuss the question of the devaluation of the Moroccan franc which is now worth 420 to the US dollar.

July 26: Crown Prince Mawlay Hasan and Vice Premier 'Abd al-Rahim Abu-'Abid flew to Switzerland to submit the Cabinet decisions on the devaluation issue to the King of Morocco.

July 30: The Moroccan representative at the UN has called on the Secretary General to draw to his attention the grave situation on the border of Southern Morocco and the French Sahara. Morocco has protested to France against the projected atomic bomb experiments in the French Sahara, but France has rejected the protest.

Aug. 2: The US has negotiated an agreement with Morocco whereby the Government of Morocco becomes the employer and paymaster of all local civilian labor on US bases in Morocco. The US will receive its first tacit recognition by the Moroccan Government that its air bases have any status in return for putting approximately \$1,000,000 a month of foreign exchange into the Moroccan treasury.

Aug. 4: King Muhammad V cut short his vacation in Europe and returned home reportedly because of the political and monetary problems of his kingdom.

Aug. 6: The Foreign Ministry of Morocco issued a communiqué declaring that the recent arrangements between the US and Morocco regarding US air bases did not constitute "an agreement" between the two countries, and that the Government had not deviated from its policy of "non-dependence" in dealing with the US.

Aug. 7: King Muhammad V underwent a tonsillectomy in a private clinic in his palace.

Aug. 8: Premier 'Abdallah Ibrahim returned from the conference of independent African states in Liberia.

Aug. 12: The Moroccan ministries of Public Health and Interior are promoting the eating of fish to improve the Moroccan diet and to give stimulus to the fishing industry.

Aug. 13: The Moroccan Government has decided to join the Arab Postal Union.

Morocco will nominate itself to the position of vice-president of the Fourteenth Session of the UN General Assembly.

Aug. 14: Morocco has asked the General Assembly to place the question of French nuclear tests in the Sahara on its Agenda.

Aug. 15: Muhammad al-Fasi, the Rector of Moroccan Universities, arrived in the US for a tour of the schools and universities of that nation.

It was reported from Rabat that nine persons were killed and thirty-five were injured when a bus plunged off a twisting mountain road.

Aug. 20: The leader of Morocco's conservative Istiqlal party accused France and Spain of "plots" against Morocco's Saharan territories.

Aug. 22: American producer Nat Wachsberger plans to film the movie "Salammbô" in the forests of the Middle Atlas Mountains in Morocco.

Sept. 6: Moroccan Left Wing leader, Mahdi Ben Barka, has formed a new political front under the name of the National Union of Popular Forces to oppose Crown Prince Moulay Hassan.

Sept. 7: The National Union of Popular Forces published its charter advocating "nationalization of vital sectors of the economy."

Sept. 11: The Interior Minister said in a news conference

on the new electoral law that all Moroccan men and women of 21 years will have the right to participate in free and secret municipal elections to be held early in 1960.

Sept. 12: Spain is in the process of cutting back her Spanish Foreign Legionnaires stationed in Morocco from 60,000 to 5,000 men in an effort to improve relations with Morocco and to save money. The US has decided to evacuate 8,000 airmen and dependents from Morocco over a period of five and one-half years.

Sept. 13: It was reported from Tangier that the Moroccan franc fell to a new low of 500 to the US dollar on the free money market.

Sept. 14: The Moroccan Communist party has been suspended by the Government under a law which provides for such action against any association that "infringes upon the national entity and monarchical structure of the state."

Pakistan

1959

June 15: East Pakistan Governor Husain disclosed in Dacca that the Constitution Commission was expected to be appointed before the year was out and that its report was expected before the end of 1960. The first elections in East Pakistan to Union Panchayats under the "basic democracy" system, a four-tier set-up approved at the Governors' Conference concluded at Nathiagali on June 13, may be held sometime in September or October, he added.

The four-tier set-up will consist of the Union Panchayats, the Tehsil and Thana Councils, the District Councils, and the Divisional Councils. The Union Panchayats will contain one elected representative for every 1,000 to 1,500 people and five nominated members for each Union Panchayat the chairman of which will become a member of the Tehsil or Thana councils.

June 17: Details of a national scheme to extend the union Panchayat system to urban areas are being worked out by the Central Government, it was revealed. The plan was described as an administrative measure geared to fit the new constitutional set-up.

June 22: President Gen. Muhammad Ayub Khan challenged statements made in the US Senate that the US was supporting a military build-up in Pakistan in excess of that nation's requirements for external defense.

June 29: East Pakistan and West Pakistan Provincial budgets for 1959-60 were announced.

June 30: Finance Minister Shoaib presented next year's fiscal estimates showing a surplus of Rs. 26.3 (\$5.5 million) and said that agriculture must have first priority in the development program.

The IBRD made a loan equivalent to US \$2.4 million in Pakistan for the expansion of electric power supplies in Karachi.

July 1: The Governors' Conference decided that two governors should have advisory councils and that there should be elected bodies in urban areas corresponding to Union Panchayat. Also, that a provincial cadre of the Civil Service of Pakistan should be created.

The Economic Council approved 73 new development schemes in different sectors and the Planning Commission disclosed a marked improvement in the country's economy.

July 2: Pakistan announced that 1,662 Government employees had been punished for misconduct, corruption, or inefficiency.

July 3: In Dacca, East Pakistan Governor Zakir Husain disclosed that legislation for basic democracies was to be finalized within a week, while elections were expected in November.

July 5: A rainstorm that flooded Karachi over the weekend resulted in the death of 12 persons and the collapse of 16 buildings.

July 7: The Government intensified its drive against corruption and frowned at the opulence of certain people, especially those in the government.

July 20: Canada signed an agreement with Pakistan to supply technical equipment worth \$5,600,000 for the construction of a power link between Dacca and the port of Chittagong.

July 21: The Government rejected a second Indian protest note on the shooting down of an Indian jet bomber over Pakistan last April.

July 22: Indian and Pakistani officials began a trade conference at New Delhi.

July 25: Pakistan appealed to the US for aid to 11,000,000 people in the flood-ravaged West Pakistan Province.

July 27: The League of Red Cross Societies at Geneva has appealed to national chapters for emergency aid to the flood victims.

July 28: India and Pakistan agreed to trade, the former to sell more coal and cement, and the latter more jute cuttings.

Aug. 1: President Ayub Khan opened Korangi village marking the beginning of a new era for Karachi's 500,000 refugee squatters.

Aug. 2: The Pakistani Government will start moving from Karachi to Rawalpindi in October, the Minister of Health and Social Welfare announced.

Aug. 7: Talks opened at the Commonwealth Relations Office in London between representatives of Pakistan and India and the Vice President of the World Bank, to solve the Indus River problems and exploring the financial aspects of the WB's solution.

Aug. 10: President Ayub Khan decried US Senate criticism relating particularly to US aid to Pakistan's defense policies.

An IBRD official predicted in London that India and Pakistan would resolve the Indus River dispute by mid-1960.

Aug. 13: US Ambassador to Pakistan, William M. Rountree, arrived in Karachi.

Aug. 17: The US Ambassador presented his credentials to President Ayub Khan.

Aug. 21: The Education Ministry has decided to grant three scholarships to Pakistani students to study at higher Iraqi institutes sponsored by the Iraqi government.

Aug. 22: President Ayub Khan's visit with Nehru on

- September 1, at New Delhi, for short informal talks was announced.
- Aug. 25: Ambassador of Pakistan to the US emphasized the need for and the purposes of the new Pakistan Government, in an address to the World Affairs Council of Los Angeles, California.
- Aug. 28: In his address to the Commonwealth Club of California in San Francisco, the Ambassador of Pakistan rejected the view that massive aid must be given to India, and outlined the new system of government of Pakistan.
- Aug. 31: The Foreign Office in Karachi was completing preparations for the Ayub Khan-Nehru talks and revealed that no agenda has been fixed.
- Sept. 1: President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Nehru met for one hour at the New Delhi Airport and agreed that relations between their countries should be conducted on a "rational and planned basis and not according to day-to-day exigencies." A ministerial conference to discuss border troubles was scheduled.
- Sept. 2: Legislation to create a system of "basic democracies" was approved at a conference of Governors and Cabinet members in Dacca, and President Khan announced in a broadcast the first step to the return of democratic government with the election of village councils before the end of the year.

Palestine Problem

1959

- June 16: The annual assembly of the International Labor Organization rejected a UAR resolution aimed at halting the flow of Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe.
- June 17: The Government of the UAR detained the 4,500 ton Liberian-registered freighter, *Nord*, at the entrance to the Suez Canal on the suspicion that it carried a cargo originating in Israel.
- June 18: The *Nord* was cleared to pass through the Suez Canal.
- Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld is undecided as to whether to make his scheduled trip to Cairo to try to settle the dispute over the seizure of Israeli cargoes.
- June 23: Secretary General Hammarskjöld will arrive in Cairo on July 1 in a new attempt to settle the Israeli cargo dispute. The UAR has indicated that there is no possibility of the release of the cargo aboard the Danish freighter, *Inge Toft*, which was stopped May 21.
- June 25: The Egyptian War Prize Commission upheld the seizure by the UAR of an Israeli cargo from the Liberian ship, *Kapitan Manolis*, last March.
- June 30: President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir accused Israel of "aggressive actions" in trying to send ships that she had chartered through the Suez Canal.
- July 1: It was reported that Dag Hammarskjöld has proposed that the International Court of Justice decide whether the Danish freighter *Inge Toft* should be allowed to pass through the Suez Canal.
- July 2: Dag Hammarskjöld appeared to have failed to find a way to resolve the dispute over Israeli shipping in the Suez Canal.
- July 3: Israeli officials weighed more forceful steps to obtain the free passage of Israeli cargoes should the UN Secretary General's intervention fail to produce a solution.
- July 8: Lt. Gen. E. L. M. Burns, Commander of the UN Emergency Force, presented the UNEF Medal to members of the Indian contingent serving with the Force in the Gaza Strip.
- July 11: The UAR Customs Department auctioned the Israeli cargo of potash, cement and fruit juices taken from the 1,689-ton Liberian vessel *Kapitan Manolis*.
- July 15: The Israeli Army announced that two Egyptians were killed and a third wounded after an exchange of fire with an Israeli patrol in the western Negev desert.
- July 25: Representatives of nine Arab countries began to prepare for a two-week conference on ways to apply more economic pressure against Israel.
- July 26: Speaking on the third anniversary of Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal, President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir said that the UAR would not shy away from a decisive battle with Israel.
- July 28: In a speech at the ceremonies near Alexandria to distribute land to 1,200 families under the agrarian-reform program, President Nasir told the Egyptians that he would "welcome them (the Israelis) to battle" if they tried to invade the UAR.
- Aug. 8: President Gamal Nasir scoffed at reports that Israel planned to raise the Suez Canal issue before the UN.
- The Israeli Army reported that an Israeli patrol fired at a marauding party from the Gaza Strip and killed one member. An Army spokesman said the infiltrators had been caught dismantling irrigation pipes near the Israeli village of Nir Am.
- Aug. 13: The Arab League ended a conference near Beirut with a recommendation that the economic blockade of Israel should be tightened.
- Israeli Foreign Minister Golda Meir said that Israel still insisted that Egypt must obey the rulings of the UN Security Council on free passage through the Suez Canal, and that Israel would not accept any conditions that would qualify the right to send Israeli cargoes through the Canal in foreign-owned vessels.
- Aug. 16: It was reported that Arab pressure was delaying the transfer of two Israeli frigates purchased by Ceylon.
- Aug. 19: The Moroccan Government party newspaper, *al-'Alam*, said the agenda of the Arab League Council meeting, which will open in Casablanca September 4, includes an appeal for the formation of a Palestine government and an army able to take the offensive against Israel.
- Aug. 25: The Arab League's boycott office announced a ban against fifteen American and European companies on the ground that they had violated the Arab boycott of Israel.
- Aug. 26: Premier Hazza' Majali of Jordan has made the statement that the Kingdom of Jordan will accept all Palestine Arab refugees desiring to live in Jordan as citizens.
- Aug. 27: The agenda of the Arab League meeting to be

held September 1 at Casablanca, Morocco, is expected to include proposals that Palestine Arab refugees be restored to their former homes, that an army be raised from the ranks of the refugees, and that a charter of a Palestinian Arab nation be drafted.

Aug. 31: Jordan complained to the UN chief truce supervisor that Israel had violated the special agreement for the demilitarized zone on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, when an Israeli patrol crossed the zone into Jordanian territory.

Sept. 5: A military court in Damascus sentenced to death six Syrians and two Lebanese found guilty of having spied for Israel. Three other Syrians received life terms.

Sept. 7: The Arab League council meeting at Casablanca adopted four resolutions aimed against Israel and Zionism: to have all member states to form "Palestine committees" to follow all moves of Israel and to take counter-measures; to keep close check on Jewish emigration into Israel; to sanction the action of the UAR in closing the Suez Canal to Israeli ships and cargoes; and to seek additional ways of making the economic boycott of Israel more efficient.

Sept. 10: In a speech before the annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, Senator Keating of New York said that "short-sighted leaders in the Middle East are condemning their own people to needless sacrifice" because of "their obsession with Israel."

Sept. 12: Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania denounced the UAR policy towards Israel and suggested that the Arab states contribute towards world peace by agreeing to a settlement of the Arab refugees, allowing unrestricted use of the Suez Canal, and ending their discrimination against Americans because of religion.

Sept. 13: The Cairo radio reported that four Israeli fighter planes fired warning shots at a UAR airliner over the Gulf of Aqaba.

The Israeli Army denied reports of an aerial encounter with the UAR.

Persian Gulf

1959

June 16: Shaykh Fahd al-Salim al-Sabah, brother of the ruler of Kuwait died of a heart attack in Saudi Arabia after having made courtesy visits to that state, Bahrain, and the Trucial Shaykhdoms.

June 17: The ruler of Bahrain, Shaykh Sulman bin Hamad al-Khalifa, collapsed in his palace from a heart attack.

July 20: The Japanese Arabian Oil Company announced that it had started test drilling on the seabed in the neutral offshore zone between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

July 25: The radiotelephone circuit between Lebanon and Bahrain has been expanded to include Dawhat al-Qatar.

July 29: Imam Ghalib bin 'Ali of Oman has declared that the Omani people will not consider themselves bound by any contract made by the Sultan of Muscat and companies prospecting for oil in Oman.

Aug. 2: The Imam of Oman said that he considered himself president of an independent republic, and that he

remained in control of active guerrilla warfare against the British.

A British Foreign Office spokesman described the Imam's statement as "ludicrous," and said that the religious leader was "not a rebel against the British, but against the Sultan of Muscat."

Aug. 3: The Imam of Oman spent a few days on a tour of the UAR.

Aug. 14: An offshore oil well fire in the Arabian Oil Company of Tokyo's prospecting concession zone has been extinguished by dynamite after blazing for eleven days.

Aug. 20: The Sultan of Muscat and Oman conferred with British Minister of State for increased assistance to his army and for British officers to train his soldiers.

Sept. 1: The Italian-Iranian SIRIP Company began offshore drilling operations in the Gulf area from a permanent-type drilling platform set in water.

Saudi Arabia

1959

June 18: The Director General of Pilgrimage announced that a grand total of 557,801 persons made the pilgrimage this year.

June 21: Amir Muhammad ibn Sa'ud, son of the King, was appointed by royal decree as the Chief of the Royal Cabinet.

June 24: Led by Royal Cabinet Chief, Bahjat al-Talhuni, a three-man Jordanian delegation visited Saudi Arabia on a goodwill mission.

June 29: A Saudi Arabian delegation attended the meeting of the Desert Locust Control Committee of the UN's FAO in Rome.

June 30: The Italian and Saudi Arabian Foreign Ministries will raise their respective diplomatic missions from the rank of legations to that of embassies.

July 16: King Sa'ud was greeted by dignitaries of the UAR and the Arab League as his ship passed through the Suez Canal on its way to Europe.

July 18: 'Abd al-Karim Qasim received the Saudi Arabian Ambassador and other members of the delegation sent from Saudi Arabia to attend the July 14 celebrations.

July 19: King Sa'ud conferred with King Paul of Greece on the island of Corfu.

July 21: The exchange rate of the Saudi riyal on the free market has improved to 4.75 riyals to the US dollar.

July 22: HRH Amir Faisal stated that the current budget surplus will be devoted to debt retirement.

Aug. 12: The US Senate asked to go on record in opposition to foreign aid for Saudi Arabia and other nations that discriminate against American Jews.

Aug. 20: King Sa'ud has accepted an invitation to visit President Nasir of the UAR on August 31.

Aug. 25: Gordon Getty, son of J. Paul Getty, was arrested in Saudi Arabia following an automobile accident.

Aug. 27: King Sa'ud motored to Geneva, Switzerland for a short visit with the Shaykh of Qatar.

Sudan

1959

- June 24:** The Irrigation Minister, Brigadier Ahmad 'Abdallah Hamad, was arrested because of evidence at the court martial trying former cabinet ministers, Brigadier 'Abd al-Rahim Shennan and Brigadier Muhi al-din Ahmad 'Abdallah.
- July 11:** A Sudanese official mission arrived in Yugoslavia for talks on a long-term credit to finance imports of industrial equipment.
- July 13:** The military court trying the former Minister of Communications and Minister of Local Government on charges of mutiny completed its hearings.
- July 21:** The new Sennar Dam, completed by two West German concerns, has been put into operation and the Manaqil Canal, which will bring 600,000 acres of desert under cultivation, has begun to fill.
- July 22:** The court martial of Brigadier Hamad, the suspended Minister of Agriculture and Irrigation, was opened.
- July 23:** Three agreements with Yugoslavia involving the building of factories, the delivery of two cargo ships, and the formation of a Sudanese-Yugoslav navigation company were signed after extensive negotiation.
- July 29:** The acting Minister for Local Government and member of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces received the US ambassador at his office at the request of the latter.
- July 30:** 'Umar 'Abd al-Hamid, 'Adil, new Permanent Representative of the Sudan to the United Nations, presented his credentials to the Secretary-General.
- Aug. 12:** Sudan gave France a protest against the projected atomic explosion in the Sahara.
- Aug. 14:** Sa'id al-Badr Muhammad has presented his credentials to King Paul of Greece as the ambassador of the Republic of Sudan to that country.
- Aug. 15:** The Minister for Presidential Affairs discussed with the ambassador of Yugoslavia the question of training Sudanese officers in Yugoslavia.
- Aug. 20:** An exploration agreement was signed between the Sudanese Government and the Italian state-owned oil corporation, E. N. I.
- At a press conference in Khartum, the Minister of Information presented the proposed development program for 1959-1960 which is estimated at £58,567,334 (excluding American aid).
- Sept. 6:** Maqbul al-Amin al-Hajj, acting Minister of Agriculture and Irrigation, stated that the Nile water talks between the Sudan and the UAR will begin immediately after the current military courts finish their work.

Tunisia

1959

- June 18:** Exactly a year and a day after Tunisia and France concluded an agreement withdrawing French troops from Tunisian soil, except those at the Bizerte naval base, President Bourguiba reopened the question of the remaining 15,000 French troops still stationed

there, declaring that the status of the base must be defined on terms "consonant with Tunisian sovereignty" or "France must face a Tunisian demand" for outright evacuation very soon.

- June 23:** The Premier of the Nationalist Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic flew to Cairo for a major policy meeting of the Algerian Ministers-in-exile to determine the nationalist position on the prospective meeting of President Charles de Gaulle and King Muhammad V of Morocco in August.
- Walter N. Walmsley, Jr., was appointed to succeed G. Lewis Jones as Ambassador to Tunisia.
- July 3:** A Tunisian delegation arrived in Rome for a two-week tour of Italian industry and trade talks.
- July 5:** The automobile of a Tunisian journalist was blown up by a bomb resulting in the death of a ten-year-old boy nearby and the injury of six other children.
- July 19:** After talks with Italian leaders, Bourguiba, in an audience with the Pope, was believed to have emphasized that the Roman Catholic Church would enhance its prestige in the Arab world if it convinced France of the futility of continuing to seek a military solution of the Algerian problem. Bourguiba returned to Tunis.
- July 22:** Seven union leaders from Tunisia arrived in the US to study vocational education methods.
- July 28:** The Senate confirmed the nomination of Walter N. Walmsley as US Ambassador to Tunisia.
- July 30:** President Bourguiba announced that Tunisians will vote November 8 to elect their first legislative assembly of ninety members to replace a constituent assembly elected in March, 1955.
- Bourguiba stressed that, in spite of the border incidents, Tunisia would go on with the housing plans and with the projects towards progress.
- Aug. 1:** Five Tunisians accused of having given political and military information to French local affairs officers were sent to prison by a military tribunal.
- Aug. 4:** Tunisia participated in the conference of the Independent African States held in Monrovia, Liberia.
- Aug. 15:** The Tunisian Government charged that a French plane based in Algeria had twice attacked the Tunisian town of Bhirt Zitouna. A demand for a ceasing of the operations was presented.
- Aug. 16:** The ruins of a fourth-century city, covering nearly twenty-five acres and including the remains of big churches and a burial ground have been discovered near Skhira, south of Tunis.
- Aug. 20:** Bourguiba announced that Tunisia had broken away from its customs union with France, but he said that current Franco-Tunisian economic and financial negotiations were not interrupted.
- Sept. 3:** France and Tunisia signed a new monetary and commercial agreement that maintains close relations between the two countries in an effort to maintain French-Tunisian trade at the present level of about \$90,000,000 a year each way.
- Sept. 14:** President Bourguiba was quoted in an interview published in Tunis as having said that he had offered

France the naval base at Bizerte in return for the granting of independence to Algeria.

Turkey

1959

June 24: Baghdad Pact scientists, equipped with radio-isotopes and Geiger counters, are gathering important facts about the menacing *arlis* bug and have determined that the insect appears in waves every seven years.

July 1: Foreign Minister Zorlu outlined Turkey's view of world affairs and particularly charged that Russian moves for a summit conference were diversionary tactics to outflank Western defenses and penetrate Africa and the Middle East, in an address at Colgate University.

July 2: Foreign Minister Zorlu and Secretary Herter discussed economic and political problems at a meeting in Washington. The talk dealt largely with the Turkish Government's evaluation of Soviet penetration in the Middle East and Africa, US officials said.

July 6: Two freight trains collided near Sivas, killing seven persons and seriously injuring five.

July 13: Foreign Minister Zorlu arrived in Geneva for private consultations with foreign ministers of the US, Britain, and France who have returned for the Big Four conference on Berlin.

Turkey rejected Soviet Russia's note of June 25, 1959 warning against installation of missile bases on Turkish soil and demanding the establishment of a de-atomized zone in the Adriatic and Balkan areas.

A new NATO base went into service at Trabzon on Turkey's Black Sea coastline.

July 29: The daily newspaper *Vatan* was ordered closed for a month and its editor, Ahmet Emin Yalman, was sentenced to sixteen months in prison and 4,000 Turkish lira, for printing articles by a US writer which were critical of political and economic conditions in Turkey.

Aug. 4: Equipment to help in the development and expansion of Turkish lignite or brown coal mines will be purchased in the US under a \$5.5 million credit, EXIMBANK president Samuel Waugh announced.

Aug. 5: Premier Menderes and Foreign Minister Zorlu visited Sir Winston Churchill on the yacht *Christina*.

Aug. 15: Turkey apologized to Syria for Turkish soldiers who trespassed "in pursuit of Turkish smugglers."

The Turkish Airlines started its thrice-weekly Ankara-Istanbul-Athens-Rome flights using 48-passenger Viscount turbo-prop airliners.

Aug. 17: Minister of Economics Ludwig Erhard of West Germany left Munich for Turkey for a six-day visit to discuss possible Turkish association with the six-nation European Economic Community.

Aug. 19: Four US servicemen accused of black-market currency operations went on trial at Izmir before a criminal court.

The Defense Department in Washington said that the US military command in Europe had started an

investigation of the arrest and alleged mistreatment of the four US servicemen.

Aug. 20: Nineteen foreign nations participate in the 28th annual International Fair at Izmir.

Aug. 22: The Turkish press reported the killing of one Turk and the wounding of one or two others by Soviet border guards near the Frontier.

Dr. Ludwig Erhard ended his visit to Istanbul and arrived at important economic decisions in consultation with Turkish officials.

Sept. 2: Turks banned coverage of the trial of US servicemen at the request of the prosecutor.

The State Department said that it assumed official observers would not be affected by the press ban on the trial.

The publisher and editor of the opposition daily *Demokrat* of Izmir were sent to prison and each fined for \$444.00 on charges of insulting the public prosecutor's office.

Sept. 3: Foreign Minister Zorlu arrived in Paris and met with President Eisenhower and Secretary Herter.

Sept. 6: Turkish Cypriot leader, Dr. Fazil Kuchuk returned to Nicosia after a month in Britain and western Europe.

Sept. 8: Foreign Minister Manzur Kadir of Pakistan and Minister Zorlu discussed matters of common interest in the Central Treaty Organization, in Ankara.

Sept. 9: Some outward signs of steady progress with the economic stabilization program indicated an upward trend in Turkey's economy, it was reported in Istanbul.

Sept. 11: It was reported in Brussels that Turkey's request for association with the European Economic Community was unanimously approved by the six-member nations.

Sept. 15: Premier A. Segni and Foreign Minister Pella of Italy began their official four-day visit in Istanbul to discuss world problems in general and political, economic and cultural matters of specific concern to both nations.

United Arab Republic

1959

June 15: Dr. Subandrio, Indonesian Foreign Minister, met President Nasir and Dr. Fawzi, UAR Foreign Minister, after his arrival in Cairo for a one-day visit.

A Cuban mission headed by Commander Ernesto Guevara arrived in Cairo for a two-week visit to discuss strengthening relations between Cuba and the UAR and to study Egyptian land reform.

June 17: The UN Food and Agriculture Organization announced that it will undertake a pilot project in drainage practices in the UAR at a cost of \$300,000 and an aerial soil survey which is estimated at \$265,000.

June 18: The UAR celebrated the third anniversary of the evacuation of British troops from Egypt.

June 24: The UAR has accepted the Russian-amended plan for the Aswan High Dam which provides for an

- open channel instead of seven tunnels to lead water from the dam.
- June 30:** Secretary General Hammarskjöld arrived in Cairo on a two-day visit.
- July 1:** The US Embassy disclosed that the US and the UAR have signed a technical assistance agreement unofficially estimated at \$8,000,000. This is the first such agreement to be concluded since the US aid to Egypt was broken off during the Suez Canal crisis of 1956.
- The UAR Minister of Education arrived in Belgrade for talks on cultural cooperation.
- July 2:** In an interview with the newspaper *al-Abram* President Nasir announced that a period of "radical change" in social and economic life was about to begin in the UAR.
- July 8:** President Nasir launched a "school for democracy" experiment with local elections throughout Egypt and Syria.
- July 9:** Ninety Arab students from Turkish universities arrived for a visit of the UAR.
- July 10:** Ibrahim Sabri, the UAR's new ambassador to West Germany, arrived in Bonn.
- July 12:** Final results in the elections to the UAR's National Union, the organization from which a Parliament will be selected, showed big majorities for all Cabinet Ministers for the Egyptian and Syrian regions.
- July 13:** A trade and payments agreement between Morocco and the UAR was initialled in Rabat.
- July 15:** Russians who have been visiting Egypt to work on the projected high dam left for Moscow.
- July 17:** The UAR has decided to increase its participation in the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
- U Thi Han, Burmese Minister of Trade and Development, concluded talks with UAR Ministers.
- July 19:** The Government has announced its new budget which calls for record expenditures on social services in Egypt and Syria.
- July 20:** The UAR Minister of Industry held talks with representatives of the West German firm Concordia concerning the company's offer to participate in the execution of some of the petroleum projects included in the UAR Five-Year Industrialization Program.
- July 23:** In a three-hour parade marking the seventh anniversary of the overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy, the UAR displayed its military "striking power."
- Aug. 4:** News of the Eisenhower-Khrushchev visits was enthusiastically welcomed in the UAR.
- Aug. 6:** Senator Javits, Republican of New York, proposed in the US Senate that the US ban all aid to the UAR unless it guaranteed freedom of passage through the Suez Canal for Israeli cargoes.
- Aug. 7:** The Russian Ambassador to the UAR, Evgeni Kisselev, was transferred back to Moscow.
- Aug. 14:** The leader of a delegation of visiting Americans of Arab descent said that the US must give the UAR the economic help it needed or risk "driving" this Middle East country into the arms of the Soviet Union.
- Aug. 15:** A trial of persons charged with trying to overthrow President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir opened in Alexandria.
- The Minister of Industry has announced that the biggest oil field in the UAR has been discovered in the Sinai Peninsula.
- Aug. 16:** The UAR Railway Authority will buy 16 electric diesel locomotives from the General Electric Company for use on principal railway lines.
- Aug. 19:** About \$40,000 were collected for Algerian nationalists at a dinner given in honor of a group of Algerian women visiting the UAR.
- Aug. 22:** King Sa'ud of Saudi Arabia is scheduled to arrive in Cairo on August 31, and the city is planning a full reception for him in the name of Arab unity.
- The UAR is stepping up its radio services to make Cairo broadcasts audible in most parts of the world.
- Aug. 23:** The new UAR-Sudanese Solidarity Hospital was opened in Port Said.
- Aug. 28:** In two circular letters from the Foreign Ministry to all embassies in Cairo, the Government of the UAR has made known that it expects all foreign representatives to keep propaganda activities friendly and within bounds.
- Aug. 29:** A year's trade agreement containing the most-favored nation clause has been signed in Cairo between the UAR and Cuba.
- Aug. 31:** Cairo welcomed Senator Fulbright's call for a new US policy on the Middle East as a show of confidence in the ability of the Arab countries to handle their own affairs.
- A UAR diplomat arrested recently on allegations of trying to sell out-of-date Egyptian banknotes hanged himself in his cell in Basle, Switzerland.
- Sept. 2:** President Nasir will visit Saudi Arabia at the invitation of King Sa'ud.
- Sept. 4:** King Sa'ud and President Nasir have announced that they have agreed to renew full cooperation for the sake of Arabism.
- Sept. 5:** Dr. al-Qaysuni, UAR Minister of Economy and chief economic adviser to President Nasir, has begun an extended tour to sell Egyptian cotton and other UAR products to the West for hard currency.
- Sept. 13:** Sir Anthony Eden has completed a book explaining his role in the Suez Canal crisis of 1956.

Egypt

1959

- July 2:** The US agreed to resume technical cooperation with Egypt and signed two agreements on aid totalling \$291,300 for civil aviation and road development.
- Aug. 1:** The first cricket match since the outbreak of the Suez war was played at the Gezira Sporting Club after it was ruled that the game is not "essentially British."
- Aug. 14:** Egyptian authorities implied that the thefts or loss of Egyptian antiquities was a result of the Suez invasion of 1956.
- A mission from the IBRD is in Cairo looking into the financial aspects of a loan to Egypt to enable the widening and deepening of the Suez Canal.

Aug. 16: The Nile has risen to 17 meters and 62 centimeters or about six to ten feet above its normal level and near the point at which the flow will be cut by control dams upstream.

Aug. 17: The emergency curator of the Egyptian Museum has accused former King Faruq of pilfering antiquities and selling them to collectors through a New York store.

Aug. 28: A meeting was held in Alexandria between the Director General of the Ports Administration and representatives of the UAR General Petroleum Authority to consider bids for the supply of five new oil tankers to the UAR.

Sept. 5: After completing one-half of his term, Mr. James Swinburn, the British businessman serving a five-year sentence in Egypt for espionage, is to be released.

Sept. 8: The Soviet Union signed a general contract for technical assistance and equipment today for the first stage of Cairo's Aswan High Dam.

Syria

1959

June 13: The President of the Syrian Executive Council, announced that the state-owned refinery near Homs, built by the Czechoslovakian Techno-Export company, had been completed—15 days ahead of schedule.

July 17: Three Syrians were arrested when trying to smuggle 11 kg of hashish by air from Damascus to Cairo, custom officials reported.

Aug. 12: The Homs Refinery was officially inaugurated.

Aug. 29: The Syrian Minister of Economy approved the articles of association of the National Oil and Asphalt Company of Latakia, Ltd.

Sept. 6: Minister Khalil Kallas announced a new law issued by Nasir which stipulates that at least 70% of any bank capital stocks should be owned by UAR citizens, who should in turn be represented on bank boards of directors in the same proportion. The operation of insurance companies in the Syrian Region should be under direct state supervision and only Arab-owned insurance companies can be established in the future, the Minister said.

Yemen

1959

June 16: A spokesman for the Imam of Yemen dismissed reports that the army had seized control of the Yemeni capital of Ta'izz and the port of Hodeida.

June 20: It has been announced that the US has offered to aid the Kingdom of Yemen in the building of an internal road linking Ta'izz with Sana'a.

June 27: A commercial attaché of the Japanese Embassy in Cairo ended a two-week visit to Yemen where he discussed methods of strengthening commercial relations between Yemen and Japan.

July 3: Yemen charged that British planes bombed the Beida area of Yemen and that British land forces launched a two and one-half-hour battle on El Daleh on July 3.

Neither the British Air Ministry nor the British War Office had information on the reported attacks.

July 14: Imam Ahmad of Yemen left Rome by airplane after twelve weeks of medical treatment in Italy but returned to the city an hour later after complaining of not feeling well.

July 15: An agreement between the UAR and Yemen for the establishment of the Arab company for foreign trade to carry out domestic and foreign trade operations in the two countries and abroad was signed.

Aug. 3: The 65-year-old ruler of Yemen left for home with his twenty wives and concubines after a three-month stay in Italy for the treatment of arthritis.

Aug. 6: President Nasir greeted Imam Ahmad at Port Said in their first meeting since the UAR and Yemen federated in 1958.

Aug. 17: The Imam of Yemen has dealt strongly with rebel elements who tried to overthrow the régime during his absence. According to informed sources, more than six persons have been executed without trial.

An International Cooperation Administration staff has arrived in Yemen from the US to carry out a wheat distribution program.

Aug. 23: Qadi Ahmad bin Ahmad Assayaghi, secretary to the Imam, had fled to the tribal area of Beihan with a number of his followers after a threat of vengeance by Imam, it was reported.

Aug. 24: Reports from Aden said that the Imam of Yemen has had several "Christian agitators" beheaded and others mutilated in a move against liberal reforms instituted by his son, Crown Prince Amir Sayf al-Islam Muhammad al-Badr, during his absence.

DOCUMENT

The Tunisian Constitution

The independent state of Tunisia came into being with the signing of the Franco-Tunisian Protocol of March 20, 1956, ending thereby seventy-five years of the Protectorate granted to France by the Treaty of Bardo in 1881 and the complementary La Marsa Convention two years later.

On March 25, 1956, a Constituent Assembly was elected for the purpose of formulating a national constitution. It was not until June 1, 1959, that the Assembly, meeting significantly enough at the Bardo Palace, approved the first Constitution of independent Tunisia. It was signed by the Chief of State, President Habib Bourguiba, on that same day and was proclaimed the basic law of the Republic of Tunisia.

Following are the high lights of the constitution:

The Preamble

The Preamble to the Constitution enunciates the basic tenets of independent Tunisia: its adherence to human values revered by the free and progressive peoples of the world; the national unity of the Maghrib; a republican democratic form of government. In the words of the Preamble, the Tunisian people have resolved:

To strengthen the bonds of national unity and to adhere to those human values accepted by peoples that believe in the integrity of the human being, in equality, and in freedom, and work for peace, progress and the freedom of international association.

To adhere to the teachings of Islam, the unity of the Greater Maghrib, membership in the Arab community, cooperation with the African peoples in building a better destiny, and the support of all peoples struggling for freedom and justice.

To establish a democracy based on the sovereignty of the people and supported by a stable political order whose mainstay

shall be the principle of the separation of powers:

We also proclaim that the republican order of government is the best guarantee of human rights and the establishment of equality in rights and obligations among citizens, and of promoting the means of public welfare through the development of the economy and the utilization of the national wealth for the benefit of the people, and is the most effective means to foster the family and the right of the people to work, health and education.

Part I—General Provisions

The fundamental characteristics of the Tunisian state as well as the basic rights of its citizens are spelled out in the first seventeen articles which form Part I of the Constitution.

Article 1 proclaims Tunisia a free, independent, sovereign state, whose religion is Islam, its official language Arabic and its form of government republican.

Article 2 declares the Tunisian Republic to be an integral part of the Greater Maghrib, and goes on to assert that the new state will strive for the achievement of the unity of the Maghrib "within the bounds of the common interest."

Article 3 states that sovereignty is inherent in the Tunisian people to be exercised in accordance with the constitution.

Articles 5-17 define the rights and obligations of Tunisians:

(a) The freedom of the individual; freedom of belief and of worship (exercise of religious rites)—Article 5.

(b) Equality in rights and obligations; equality before the law—Article 6.

(c) Freedom of thought and expression; of the press and publication, of assembly and association. Labor syndicalism is explicitly provided for—Article 8.

(d) The inviolability of the home and the secrecy of correspondence—Article 9.

(e) Freedom of travel in and out of the country as well as of choice of residence—Article 10.

(f) Prohibition of banishment from the country or exclusion from returning to it—Article 11.

(g) The accused is considered innocent until convicted before a court of law—Article 12.

(h) Penalties are personal and in accordance with the provisions of the law in force antecedent to the act—Article 13.

(i) Proprietary rights are guaranteed—Article 14.

(j) "The defence of the fatherland and its security is a sacred duty incumbent upon every citizen."—Article 15.

(k) The equitable sharing in taxes and public expenses is also the duty of every citizen—Article 16.

(l) Prohibition of extradition of political prisoners—Article 17.

Part II—The Legislative Authority

Part II of the constitution which regulates the legislative branch of the state is made up of articles 18 to 38. The last two articles, however, deal with the President of the Republic who is also designated chief executive and whose powers are the subject of Part III.

Article 18 provides that the legislative authority is exercised by the people through a single representative assembly to be known as *majlis al-ummah* (National Assembly). The Assembly sits for five years (article 22), unless its tenure is extended as a result of a national

emergency barring new elections (article 23). The Assembly is elected by means of general, free, direct and secret ballot (article 19).

Every Tunisian citizen* of at least five years standing and who has attained twenty years of age enjoys the franchise (article 20). Candidates for office, however, must be born of a Tunisian father and must have attained thirty years of age (article 21).

Articles 26 and 27 provide for immunities enjoyed by a representative while in office—immunities against arrest or prosecution for opinions expressed, or acts done, in the Assembly.

The Assembly is the sole legislative authority empowered to enact laws (article 28), except in the following three instances:

(a) When the Assembly delegates to the President of the Republic the power to enact decrees for a limited period of time and for a definite purpose at the end of which the decrees must receive the approval of the Assembly if they are to remain in force (article 28);

(b) When the Assembly is in recess, the President of the Republic may, with the consent of the appropriate "continuing secretarial committee" enact decrees which must receive the approval of the Assembly in its next regular session (article 31);

(c) When the independence and security of the country are so endangered as to obstruct the normal processes of government, the President of the Republic may take such extraordinary measures as he may deem necessary. Such measures must cease with the end of the emergency and the President report to the Assembly on all measures so taken (article 32).

* When the original draft text spoke of *tunusi*, the Arabic term for Tunisian, the question immediately arose whether the term was also meant to include female Tunisian. In the course of the second reading of the constitutional draft, it was suggested that the term *tunusiyah* (female Tunisian) be added so that Tunisians of both sexes would be explicitly covered. The suggestion had its supporters and its opponents. Those supporting pointed out to the fact that Tunisian women had already been granted political rights—the franchise which they exercised in 1956 in the election of the Constituent Assembly itself; so that by including the term *tunusiyah* the Constitution would only be giving formal

recognition to a *fait accompli*. Others opposed on the ground that Tunisian society, as one representative put it, "is not yet ready to accommodate such a strong wave of liberation" of women, and suggested withholding the franchise from them for ten more years, during which time "women would have given proof of their maturity and capacity to bear the responsibilities of their freedom." The Assembly referred the matter to its Legislative Committee who decided in favor of including the term *tunusiyah* in the text. However, the version finally approved by the Assembly used the term *muwatin* (strictly, male citizen) with the tacit understanding that it includes both male and female citizens.

Proposals for new legislation are the prerogative of the President of the Republic and the members of the Assembly only. Presidential bills, however, have priority over all other bills on the agenda of the Assembly (article 28).

Articles 33 to 36 deal with the State Budget, public debts and international financial agreements, all of which must receive the approval of the Assembly.

Part III—The Executive Authority

The President of the Republic is the chief of state and assumes the executive authority in accordance with the provisions of the constitution (articles 37 and 38). He must be a Tunisian citizen, born of a Tunisian father and grandfather, forty years of age and a Muslim by religion (article 39). His term of office is five years. He is elected by general, direct, free, secret ballot at the same time the Assembly is elected and may not nominate himself for more than three consecutive terms (article 40).

The President is responsible for the general policy of the State; he directs the execution of policy and reports to the Assembly on developments as they occur. He appoints the members of his government who are responsible directly to him (article 43). All other civilian and military appointments are made by him (article 45).

The President must sign and publish in the official gazette legislation passed by the Assembly within fifteen days from the date it is referred to him. In the event of a veto, the bill must be sent back to the Assembly for reconsideration. If the Assembly again approves it with two-thirds majority, the bill becomes law (article 44).

The President is empowered to enter into international treaties, declare war and conclude peace with the approval of the Assembly (article 49). Treaties become effective only upon approval by the Assembly, in which case they assume the force of law and supersede local conflicting legislation.

Part IV—The Judicial Authority

Articles 52 to 56 provide for an independent judiciary, subordinate only to the provisions of the law (article 53). Judges are appointed by

the President of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Higher Judicial Council (article 54).

Parts V, VI, VII and VIII in single article provisions establish the following agencies:

(a) A Supreme Court to be constituted for the sole purpose of prosecuting a member of the Government accused of high treason (article 56).

(b) A Council of State with dual function: (1) as an administrative tribunal empowered to resolve conflicts arising between citizens on the one hand and the State and public authorities on the other and in all cases in which the Administration exceeds its powers. (ii) as an Accounting Department empowered to audit and examine government accounts (article 57).

(c) An Economic and Social Council sitting as a consultative body to advise on economic and social matters (article 58). The purpose of this Council and its relation to other agencies are not explicit in the constitutional text. In the course of the discussion of the draft constitution in the Constituent Assembly it was stated that the purpose of the Council is to provide a means for the participation of the people in economic and social projects through advice and guidance. As such it supplements the work of the National Development Board in existence before the Constitution.

The constitution of the Economic and Social Council and its relation to the National Assembly is to be regulated by law.

(d) Municipal and District Assemblies with local administrative functions (article 59).

Part IX—Amendment of the Constitution

Articles 60 to 62 provide for the procedure to be followed in amending the constitution. Both the President of the Republic and at least one-third of the members of the National Assembly may propose an amendment to the constitution (article 60). A proposal to amend the constitution must be accepted by an absolute majority of the Assembly before it can be considered, and by a two-thirds majority in two consecutive readings before it can be adopted (article 61).

The republican form of government is excepted from any amendment to the constitution (article 60).

Fundamental Characteristics of the Tunisian Constitution

A condition of constitutional stasis may be said to exist in the emergent new states of Asia and Africa, a disharmony well characterized by the frequent suspensions of newly adopted constitutions, the breakdowns of constitutional processes and the continued replacement of new constitutions.

This condition is inherent in the problem general to all these new states, that of the reception of modern political and legal institutions into societies whose political evolution falls considerably short of the stage reached by the originating societies. More precisely, the problem is not so much one of adjusting new principles and institutions to a local situation, since this seems to be the continued task of jurisprudence everywhere, but rather that of assimilating radically new principles and institutions into the traditional political-cultural fabric of the emergent states.

In European countries the succeeding charters reflected the varying stages of development which took place in the political situation and represented a marked course from a government of men to a government of law, from the arbitrary rule of the prince to a legal security of the rights of citizens. In the new states of Asia and Africa which have adopted modern constitutions, one finds the letter of the constitution providing ample securities of individual rights, whereas in the body politic these rights and securities are in fact still being striven for, and the institutions groping for roots. It represents an anomalous situation in which constitutional forms often exist side by side with arbitrary rule, a situation often inviting resort to extra-legal acts in order, truly or allegedly, to reassert constitutional rights and promote more liberal institutions.

Although Tunisia could boast of being the first among Muslim and Arab countries to adopt a modern constitution—i.e., the short-lived constitution of 1861, which preceded the first

Ottoman constitution by some fifteen years—the present constitution is for all practical purposes her first experience, as a fully independent state, with a modern constitution. To a greater or lesser degree, Tunisia will undoubtedly share with the other newly emergent states of Asia and Africa in the general problem of constitutional assimilation and adjustment. In his political evolution so far, however, the indications are of the Tunisian's greater degree of political maturity and stability. No less an evidence of this maturity is the present constitution whose fundamental characteristics, as may have already been noticed, are (a) republicanism with a presidential system of executive; (b) democratic institutions and securities; (c) unity of the Greater Maghrib.

(a) *Republicanism*: The new constitution affirms and consolidates the change in regime which had already taken place two years earlier when the Constituent Assembly, by the proclamation of July 25, 1957, abolished the Beylical monarchy and proclaimed Tunisia a Republic. By this move the Assembly sought to "strengthen the independence of the state and enhance the sovereignty of the People." It also considered the action as a step "in the evolution of a democratic order which is the aim of the Assembly in formulating the Constitution."

The change from a monarchical to a republican form of government was only to be expected under the new circumstances in which Tunisia found herself upon achieving independence—a predominant political party with a strong personal leadership at its head and a progressive liberally minded intelligentsia as its core. The continued presence of a weak, inept Bey was only an embarrassing vestige of the pre-independence era and an undesirable hindrance to the work of the new leadership among the people. The advantages of a republican regime over the monarchical is explicitly and forcefully stressed in the Preamble to the Constitution. *And the Presidential System of Executive Authority*: Just as the change from a monarchical régime to a republican one was a natural outcome of the success of the national movement with its popular basis and leadership,

the decision in favor of a presidential system of executive authority in the Constitution was likewise to be expected in order to accommodate the central figure of that leadership, Habib Bourguiba.

On the other hand, it is perhaps the most logical choice to resolve the most pressing problem which not only Tunisia herself, but practically all the new states of Asia and Africa face as well; that is, the problem of reconciling the need for reform and the need for legality. Professor Charles Howard McIlwain has well expressed this perennial constitutional problem in these words: "We cannot get the needed redress of injustice and abuses without reform, and we can never make these reforms lasting and effective unless we reduce them to the orderly processes of law."⁸

From the record of the meetings of the Constituent Assembly it is apparent that this problem did in fact present itself to the makers of the new Tunisian Constitution. In the general statement with which the Chief Rapporteur of the Assembly, M. 'Ali Balhawan, opened the second reading of the constitutional draft on January 27, 1958, we read the following:

We have done our utmost to reconcile between the need for establishing a genuine régime which would abolish anarchy, resolve outstanding problems and overcome all difficulties, and between the need to ensure to all citizens the guarantees which would secure for them their liberties and their rights. . . .

We have adopted a presidential republican régime in order that responsibilities shall not be dispersed and authority scattered. A strong executive authority is the primary guarantee of individual and group liberties, the best security of their rights. . . . It ensures order and security and is a strong deterrent against anarchy. . . .

(b) *Democratic Institutions and Securities:*

In providing for a presidential executive authority (particularly against the background of an already established strong political leadership), the makers of the Constitution let loose from the political bottle the *jinni* of arbitrary rule which casts its imposing shadow over many of the new states today. Hence the legitimate question: what checks does the new constitu-

tion provide against the specter of a powerful executive, in order to ensure a working balance between law and government and deter any encroachment on the former by the latter?

Firstly, the General Provisions of the Constitution, as have been noted, provide the necessary securities of individual rights essential for a free society. These juristic provisions reflect, as transpires from the records of the Constituent Assembly, the conviction of the formulators of the Constitution. To quote M. Balhawan again: "The freedom of the individual," he said, "is closely related to that of society. If the former is considered sacred so is the latter. . . . Freedom is not the equivalent of anarchy. In it is inherent a unique form of order, whereby the freedom of each person ends where that of the other begins. . . . It therefore requires a good deal of human progress, political and social training, which would promote among individuals and the people as a whole a spirit of conciliation and a respect for the opinion of others, and which would bar the resort to force as a means of imposing one's will, opinion or belief upon the others. . . ."

Secondly, the Constitution establishes the type of governmental processes essential for a democratic society. Both the President of the Republic and the members of the National Assembly are chosen by the people by means of a free, direct and secret ballot. The first such elections were scheduled for November 1959, in accordance with article sixty-four of the transitory provisions. The Assembly is the sole legislative power. The prerogatives of the Executive are well defined and, except for the appointment of members of his Cabinet and other officials in which he has a free hand, the Assembly exercises supervisory and/or controlling powers over such important functions of the Executive as the general policy of the government, the budget, the making of treaties, declaration of war and the conclusion of peace.

The independence of the judiciary is also expressly guaranteed. It is observed, however, that the Constitution, while adopting the American form of presidential executive, does not provide for another American institution—a Supreme Court empowered to pass on the

⁸ McIlwain, Charles Howard, *Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press; 1947, p. 141.

constitutionality of legislation. The makers of the Tunisian Constitution seem to have elected the English and other European constitutional practice of the legislative supremacy of Parliament. A Council of State is provided for, however, to handle all conflicts arising between individuals on the one hand and the State or Public Authorities on the other and in all matters in which the Administration exceeds its powers.

(c) *Unity of the Greater Maghrib*: Not only does the Constitution declare Tunisia to be an integral part of the Greater Maghrib, but by virtue of article two, Tunisia is obligated to work for the realization of the unity of the Maghrib. The original wording of this article went even further. It provided more explicitly that Tunisia may, in order to achieve this unity, forego part of her sovereignty.

The unity of the Maghrib (to include Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya—"We shall again be one single nation from Sallum to Casablanca," said Bourguiba in a speech of January 3, 1958) is a major political objective of the national movement of the Arab countries of North Africa. The intransigence of the French on independence for Algeria, which constitutes the central and major link in the group of Maghrib states, has so far hindered the realization of this unity in one form or another. The latter propositions of deGaulle may, of course, make a difference, but this still has to be seen.

The Tangier convention of April 27-30, 1958, however, acted to give official expression to the idea of unity and succeeded in laying down some ground-work for its eventual realization. The convention in which representatives from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia took part, adopted the following decisions:

(1) To work towards the achievement of unity among the peoples of the Maghrib.

(2) To consider federation as the most suitable form of union compatible with the *de facto* situation extant in the participating states.

(3) To recommend the formation, during the present transitional period, of a Consultative Assembly made up of representatives of the Moroccan and Tunisian National Assemblies and the National Assembly of the Algerian Revolt to consider all matters of common interest to the participating states and to submit recommendations thereon to the local executive authorities in the said states.

(4) To advise the Governments of the participating countries to refrain from all unitary international agreements which would commit the whole of North Africa in matters of foreign policy or defense until such time as the federal institutions are established.

It was against the background of this Tangier convention and the Franco-Tunisian skirmishes over the bombing of Sakiel Sidi Yusuf by French planes that Article two was incorporated into the Constitution (meeting of the Constituent Assembly of January 29, 1959). Previous to that the unity of the Greater Maghrib, as an objective of Tunisian policy, was alluded to only in the Preamble.

The idea of pan-Arab unity, rampant among the Arabs in the Middle East and often given expression to in their national constitutions, is absent from the political vocabulary of Tunisian leaders. Tunisia's relations with the rest of the Arab World is seen merely in the light of her "membership in the Arab community," to use the words of the Preamble, a phrase more with a cultural than a political connotation.

This translation and commentary on the new Tunisian Constitution is the work of George N. Sfeir. His article, "The abolition of confessional jurisdiction in Egypt" appeared in the Summer 1956 issue of the JOURNAL.

BOOK REVIEWS

IRAQI ARABIC STUDIES

Haim Blanc

THE varieties of Arabic spoken in Iraq¹ have not been studied in great detail. Reliable material on them does not exceed that available for the peninsular dialects, and is considerably scantier than that on Syrian or Egyptian Arabic.² A good many of the works listed here are included only for lack of anything more substantial, and offer only indirect, scattered and sometimes dubious linguistic data. Indeed, some titles (e.g., nos. 10, 22, 26, 29, 35) are actually misleading, in that the works concerned offer little or no information on Iraqi Arabic. On the available published and unpublished evidence, the following general features may nevertheless be discerned:

(a) Two broad dialectal types, each with several subdivisions, may be distinguished. On the basis of their respective forms of the word for "I said," these may be called the *qiltu*-dialects and the *gilit*-dialects. The former cover the old sedentary centers of the North, viz., roughly the *al-Jazīra* of the Arab geographers (Mosul, 'Āna, Hīt, Tikrit, etc.), and are also found among some isolated urban groups of the Center and South, notably the Christians

and Jews. Dialects of the second type cover (except for these isolated groups) the rest of Iraq, i.e., the urban centers of the Center and South (*al-'Irāq* of the Arab geographers), including Baghdad, Basra, al-Najaf, Karbala, al-Hilla, etc.; the rural areas of that region; and the nomadic and semi-nomadic populations of all Iraq, both North and South. The large non-Arabic-speaking population is, of course, excluded.

(b) The *gilit*-dialects are dominant, both numerically and in prestige. They are akin to the dialects of Kuwayt, of Northeastern Arabia and of the Syrian desert Beduins.³ The *qiltu*-dialects have extensions into the Turkish provinces of Mardin, Siirt, Urfa and Diyarbakir, and affinities with North Syrian sedentary dialects. Within Iraq, both dialectal types, despite their differences, share many features of grammar and vocabulary, which gives them a common Iraqi coloring.

1. *General and comparative.* Beyond a few scattered, though judicious, observations by Meissner (no. 23, p. 137, fn. 1, pp. 138ff.), Cantineau⁴ and Fleisch,⁵ no work has been

1. The term "Iraq" here refers to the present political entity. In the literature cited, English language works use the term "Mesopotamia" before World War I for roughly the same area, the term "Iraq" appearing only after 1918; the same holds for French writers. In pre-1918 German works, the term "Mesopotamien" covers only the country of the Upper Euphrates and Upper Tigris, roughly down to a line Falluja-Samarra, whereas the country South of that line is termed "Iraq" or "Babylonien." This twofold division, which is closely bound up with geography and history, is also that of the medieval Arab historians: *al-Jazīra* (North) and *al-'Irāq* (South).

2. Cf. the previous bibliographical surveys in this series, C. A. Ferguson, *Syrian Arabic Studies*, MEJ 9:187-94 (1955); R. S. Harrell, *Egyptian Arabic Studies*, MEJ 10:307-12 (1956); R. A. C. Goodison, *Arabic Dialect Studies—Arabian Peninsula*, MEJ 12:205-13 (1958). Like the last two named, the present writer is indebted to C. A. Ferguson for the use of his bibliographical card file, from which half a dozen titles were gleaned; two more titles are owed to the kindness (and watchful eye) of M. Perlmann.

3. Cf. Cantineau's *Études* and the *Handbook of Kuwaiti Arabic* (nos. 11 + 28 in Goodison, *op. cit.*).

4. Cf. his *Études*, p. 226; his review of Van Wagoner's *Spoken Iraqi Arabic* in BSL 49.2:138-50 (1953); and his *La dialectologie arabe*, Orbis 4.1:149-69, esp. p. 152.

5. H. Fleisch, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1:576 (1957).

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published on Iraqi Arabic as a whole. Two comparative works are of special interest to linguists and language teachers alike, viz., Al-Toma's systematic comparison of an Iraqi colloquial with classical Arabic, and Malik's comparison of English and Iraqi (i.e., Muslim Baghdadi) consonant clusters. In addition to their primary pedagogical interest, both studies offer valuable and reliable data compiled by native speakers. In particular, Malik's account of initial clusters is a useful antidote to Van Wagoner's transcription (no. 41), which is somewhat misleading in this respect.

2. *Vocabularies*. There are no dictionaries of Iraqi Arabic as such, but the vocabularies of Van Ess (no. 40, pp. 121-280, Arabic-English), Van Wagoner (no. 41, vol. I, pp. xix-liii, English-Arabic and Arabic-English), Meissner (no. 25, pp. 112-148, Arabic-German) offer limited substitutes. Many lexical items, restricted both regionally and as to the segment of vocabulary they cover, may be found in Gudme (nos. 13 and 14) and Salim. The latter is in unvocalized or partly vocalized Arabic script, but offers valuable terms in use among the marsh dwellers of the South. Some other ethnographic works on Iraq, not listed here, provide similar data.⁶

3. *Descriptive works*. Meissner's grammatical sketch of the dialect of Kwēriš (district of Musayyab, province of al-Ḥilla) constitutes the introduction to no. 25, and much the same grammatical material may also be found in no. 23. Properly interpreted, it is a rather accurate and painstaking description of a rural *gilit*-dialect; for best results, it should be read together with Weissbach's review of it,⁷ which, no less than the material of Weissbach's *Beiträge* offers important emendations and an improved notation for the same dialect. The only other strictly descriptive work is Schramm's unpublished dissertation on Jewish Baghdadi, a dialect which is spoken with few variations by the Jews of Central and Southern Iraq in general. The dissertation is couched in structural terms, and is based on relatively few tape recordings

and some work with informants. Both in phonemicization and in the morphology of the verb, it is surpassed by Kohen's paper, done with unusual skill and insight by a native speaker with no special linguistic training. The Beduin dialects described by Cantineau (cf. fn. 3 above) include the idioms of some tribes with important affiliates in Iraqi territory, notably Shammar and 'Anaiza. Muslim Baghdadi, the dominant dialect, has so far not been the object of strictly descriptive works, though Van Wagoner's textbook (see next section) is based on a detailed analysis and offers a reasonably useful account of it. Beyond this, a few random data may be found in the observations of Jeannier, Oppert and especially Oussani; the latter, despite many inaccuracies and inconsistencies, is of interest as presenting the only published description of what is essentially Christian Baghdadi, even though it is not so labeled by the author.

4. *Textbooks*. Van Wagoner's books remain the most adequate learning tool available so far. The lessons for the first volume are available on records. They follow the "inductive method" in vogue among American linguists, and, despite some extraneous admixtures, by and large reflect Muslim Baghdadi usage. The transcription, though ostensibly based on a phonemic analysis, includes a number of peculiarities especially in the vowels (e.g., *a* for *i* in *ʿabiir*, etc., *i* for *a* in *kislaan*, etc. extra vowels instead of zero between the first two consonants of *binaa*, *zumaal*, *hawaaaya*, etc., non-differentiation between the diphthong *ay* and the long vowel *ē*, etc.),⁸ but these and similar shortcomings can easily be overcome with the help of a gifted native teacher. On the other hand, Van Ess' book, despite its many printings, is of very limited value and can be used only with the greatest circumspection, as it presents poorly transcribed and inadequately identified variants from disparate sources, viz., Baghdad and Basra, Muslim and Christian, town and country, colloquial and classical. The Arabic Basic Course used at the Army Language School

6. The etymological study by al-Ṣabībī, which discusses the origin of 86 colloquial words, was not available to the writer; for a comment on it, see R. Blachère, *Arabica* 6:93 (1959).

7. ZDMG 58:931-48 (1904).

8. Cf. C. A. Ferguson's review of Van Wagoner in *Word* 7:276-9 (1951).

(no. 38) presents a generalized and classicized sort of Iraqi, apparently meant more as a stepping stone toward Arabic in general than a textbook for teaching a specific Iraqi dialect. Earlier manuals (nos. 7, 9, 26, 35) do not, despite their titles, offer much that is of help in the study of Iraqi Arabic.

5. *Collection of texts.* Socin's collection is the earliest for the area as a whole, and to this day the only published texts for Mardin, now in Turkey, and the only extensive ones for Mosul. The texts are adequately transcribed and translated, with some in Arabic script as well; however, there are no explanatory notes to speak of and no details on informants. Meissner's and Weissbach's copious prose and poetical texts offer considerable and reliable material on Kwēriš in Central Iraq; interestingly enough, they stem almost entirely from a single informant, who worked extensively with both men over a period of years. The proverbs collected in his Central Iraqi village by Meissner (no. 23), in Mosul by Al-Dabbāgh, in Muslim Baghdad by Allen, and in Jewish Baghdad by Sassoon (pp. 195-200) and Yahuda are of con-

siderable linguistic interest. The folk tales collected by Stephens (Lady Drower) are in English translations only, but contain a number of rhymes, ditties and phrases in Arabic; some of these add to the scanty published material on Christian Baghdadi. Blum's Jewish text is semi-literary, very poorly transcribed and hence sheds little light on the dialect; Ram's Christian text is in very nearly literary Arabic and in Syriac script; it is of little interest except for some features of the vocalization, which is rather fully marked. Similarly, the various collections of poetic texts add little to our knowledge of the spoken language, from which their idiom deviates in many details; a very few of the author's comments are of linguistic interest.

6. *Materials on older dialects.* Some data on how Arabic was spoken in Iraq in former, esp. 'Abbasid times, can be inferred from some of the philological and other works of the period; of these, three (nos. 2, 5, and 15) have been listed here by way of illustration. A detailed investigation of these older data and their correlation with present-day dialects still remain to be carried out.⁹

LIST OF TITLES REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

ABBREVIATIONS

BIFAO—Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo.

BSL—Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique, Paris.

JA—Journal Asiatique, Paris.

JAOS—Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.

MEJ—Middle East Journal, Washington

MSOS—Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin.

WZKM—Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG—Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

ZS—Zeitschrift für Semitistik, Leipzig.

1. Al-Dabbāgh, A. K. *Mu'jam Amthal al-Mawṣil al-ʿĀmmiyya*. Mosul, 1956. 606 pp. in 2 vols.

2. Al-Ḥariri, Abu al-Qāsim Muhammad b. 'Alī. *Kitāb Durraṭ al-Ghawwāṣ fī Awhām wa-l-Khawāṣṣ*. Thorbecke, Ed., Leipzig, 1871.

3. Allen, A. B. "Some Iraqi Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases," JAOS 75:122-5 (1955).

4. Al-Ṣābiḥ, M. R. *Uṣūl Alfāz al-Labja al-ʿIrāqīyya*. Baghdad, 1956. 102 pp.

5. Al-Ṭāliqānī, Abu al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Faḍl al-Mu'ayyadī. *Rihālat al-Amthal al-Baghdādīyya allatī tajrī bayn al-ʿĀmma*. . . ., ed. L. Massignon. Cairo, n. d. 44 pp.

6. Al-Toma, S. J. *The Teaching of Classical Arabic to Speakers of the Colloquial in Iraq: A Study of the Problem of Linguistic Duality and Its Impact on Language Education*. Ed. D. thesis, Harvard, 1957 (typescript).

9. For a compilation of such earlier data concentrating on the dialects of the ancient tribes but not directly concerned with older Iraqi usage, cf. H. Kofler, "Reste Altarabischer Dialekte," WZKM 47:60-130, 232-62 (1940), 48:52-66, 247-74 (1945).

7. Bahoshy, J. N. J. N. *Bahoshy's Teacher: A Practical System of Learning Colloquial Arabic as Spoken in Mesopotamia*. Baghdad and Cairo, 1918.
8. Bannerth, E. "Eine Vulgararabische Erzählung über den Ursprung des Namens der Stadt Altyn Köprü," ZDMG 74:446-8 (1920).
9. Bérésine, O. *Guide du Voyageur en Orient: dialogues arabes d'après trois principaux dialectes, de Mésopotamie, de Syrie et d'Égypte*. Moscou et St. Péterbourg, 1857.
10. Blum, S. *Qışşab Müsâ: Ein Beitrag zum Bagdadischen Dialekt des Neuarabischen*. Hanover, 1927. 84 pp.
11. Eilers, W. "Arabische Lieder aus dem Irak," ZS 10:234-55 (1935).
12. Eilers, W. *Zwölf Arabische Vierzeiler mit Umschrift, Übersetzung und Erläuterungen. Sammlung Orientalischer Arbeiten*, 10. Heft. Leipzig (1942). 51 pp.
13. Gudme, P. de H. "Arabic Excavation Terminology in Iraq and Syria," *Acta Orientalia* 16:105-30 (1938).
14. Gudme, P. de H. "Workmen and Tools at Excavations in Iraq and Syria." *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, 461-6. Roma, 1949.
15. Jawālīqī, Abū Maṣṣūr Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-. "Le livre des locutions vicieuses (Kitāb Khata' al-'Awāmm)," ed. H. Derenbourg. *Morgenländische Forschungen (Fleischer Festschrift)*, 107-166. Leipzig, 1875.
16. Jeannier, A. "Lettre de M. Jeannier, chancelier du consulat de France à Baghdad, à M. Barbier de Ménéard." *JA* 6:12:331-48 (1888).
17. Kohen, H. *Ha-po'al ba-dyalekt ha-yehudi ba-'ir 'Amāra*. School of Oriental Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, n. d. (manuscript).
18. Kremer, A. von. "Nachricht über den am linken Ufer des Tigris wohnenden Araberstamm der Beni Lam." *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 4:251-5 (1850).
19. Malik, J. A. P. "A Comparative Study of American English and Iraqi Arabic Consonant Clusters," *Language Learning* 7:65-87 (1956/7).
20. Mansour, J. "Hagiya ha-rel be-fi yehudey Bavel," *Leomenu* 20:47-9 (1956/7).
21. Mansour, J. "The Arabic dialect of the Jews of Baghdad and the pronunciation of Hebrew," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 8:187-98 (1957).
22. Massignon, L. "Notes sur le dialecte arabe de Baghdad," *BIFAO* 11:1-24 (1914).
23. Meissner, B. "Neuarabische Sprichwörter und Rätsel aus dem Irak," *MSOS* 4.2:137-74 (1901).
24. Meissner, B. "Neuarabische Gedichte aus dem Irak," I, *MSOS* 5.2:77-131 (1902); II, *ibid.* 6.2:57-125 (1903); III, *ibid.* 7.2:1-11 (1904).
25. Meissner, B. "Neuarabische Geschichten aus dem Irak," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* 5.1:i-lviii, 1-48 (1903).
26. O'Leary, De L. *Colloquial Arabic, with notes on the vernacular speech of Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia . . .* London, 1925, 10th printing, 1951. xviii+192 pp.
27. Oppert, J. *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*. Paris, 1863, vol. 1, pp. 113 ff.
28. Oussani, G. "The Arabic Dialect of Baghdad," *JAOS* 22:67-114 (1902).
29. Ram, H. "Qışşat Mār Elijā als Beitrag zur Kenntniss der arabischen Vulgärdialekte Mesopotamiens. . . ." *Leipziger Semitistische Studien* 2.3i-vii, 1-20 (1907).
30. Ritter, H. "Mesopotamische Studien," I, "Arabische Flussfahrzeuge auf Euphrat und Tigris," *Islam* 9:121-43 (1919); II, "Vierzig Arabische Volkslieder," *ibid.* 10:120-33 (1920); III, "Arabische Kriegspoese aus Mesopotamien und dem Irak," *ibid.* 13:266-77 (1923).
31. Sachau, E. *Arabische Volkslieder aus Mesopotamien*. Berlin, 1889. 96 pp.
32. Salim, Š. M. *İ-Ġibāyīl: Dirāsa Anthropolojīya li-qarya fi abwār al-'Irāq*. Baghdad, 1956. 259 pp.
33. Sassoon, D. S. *A History of the Jews in Baghdad*. Lechworth, 1949.
34. Schramm, G. M. *Judeo-Baghdadi: A Descriptive Analysis of the Colloquial Arabic of the Jews of Baghdad*. Ph. D. dissertation, The Dropsie College, Philadelphia, 1914 (typescript).
35. Seresser, N. B. *Mesopotamian Arabic*. Bombay, 1918. vii + 550 pp.
36. Socin, A. "Der Arabische Dialekt von Mosul und Merdin," ZDMG 36:4-12, 26-53, 237-77 (1882).
37. Stephen, E. S. *Folk Tales of Iraq*. Oxford, 1931. 303+xiv pp.
38. U. S. Army Language School. *Arabic Basic Course (Spoken Arabic)*. Presidio of Monterey, Cal., 1957. I, 215 + ii pp., II, 150 pp.
39. Van Ess, J. *The Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia*. London, 1917. (3rd printing, 1930).
40. Van Ess, J. *The Spoken Arabic of Iraq*. London, 1938. (2nd ed. of former; 4th printing, 1944).
41. Van Wagoner, M. Y. *Spoken Iraqi Arabic*, I, New York, 1949, x + 220 + lii pp. II, Washington, 1958 (mimeogr.).
42. Weissbach, F. H. *Beiträge zur Kunde des Irak-Arabischen* I, Leipzig, 1908, lvi + 208 pp.; reprinted together with II, *Leipziger Semitistische Studien* IV (1930), xlv + 356 pp. Part II also appeared as separate articles in ZS 3-5 (1924-1927).

43. Weissbach, F. H. "Zwei Arabische Lieder aus Babylonien," *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, (1916-1917), 233-44.
 44. Yahuda, A. S. "Bagdadische Sprichwörter," *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke gewidmet*, 2:399-416. Giessen, 1906.

Addenda

Because of defective library facilities, a number of articles appearing in the Baghdad periodical *Lughat al-'Arab* (cited as L.A. below) were omitted from the main list. The volumes of the periodical are replete with information, systematic as well as incidental, on Iraqi Arabic; the following represents only a selected list, with brief comments on some.

- Al-Najafi, A. "Kitāb Qadīm fī al-ḥikāyāt al-'ammīya," L. A. 7.393-397. (Stories reflecting colloquial usage of about two centuries ago.)
 Al-Ruṣāfi, M. *Daḥ' al-Murāq fī Kalām Abl al-'Irāq*. L. A. 4.84-88, 140-146, 211-214, 333-335, 403-405, 522-525, 596-599 (1926); L. A. 5.94-96, 147-150, 457-459, 541-543 (1927); L. A. 6.203-207, 521-524, 603-608 (1928); (A book on Iraqi [i. e. Muslim Baghdad] Arabic by the well-known poet, published with titles differing for each installment; a valuable collection by a gifted and observant native speaker, with learned comments by the editor, Father Anastase Marie de St. Elie [al-Karmili].)
 Al-Ṣarrāf, A. Ḥ. "Al-'Iyāfa 'ind 'awāmm al-'Irāq," L. A. 6.343-346 (1928).
 Ghanīma, Y. "Al-Alfāz al-Arāmīya fī al-Lughā al-'Ammīya al-'Irāqīya," L. A. 4.265-274, 339-352, 406-410, 465-70, 531-532, 584-588 (1926).
 Jawād, M. "Al-Lughā al-'Ammīya al-'Irāqīya," L. A. 8.115-116, 119-200, 610-618 (1930). (A sort of continuation of Ruṣāfi's articles after their publication stopped.)
 Thinyān, A. L. "Al-Amtāl al-'Ammīya al-Baghdādīya," L. A. 5.11-15, 77-83 (1927).

GENERAL

AVICENNA, HIS LIFE AND WORKS, by Soheil M. Afnan. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. London, 1958. 298 pages. \$6.75.

Reviewed by T. Cuyler Young

The celebration in both East and West, early in this decade, of the millenary of the birth of the celebrated Muslim philosopher, Avicenna, has naturally drawn new attention to the life and works of this influential world figure. Of the spate of works published by a variety of scholars during recent years, probably none is more comprehensive or more useful than this modest yet meaty volume. The work will be very rewarding to the truly serious reader; others should be warned that, although characterized by clarity of thought and lucidity of expression, it demands no little intellectual concentration and perspiration. Indeed, some acquaintance with the essentials of the history of philosophy, classical and medieval, will be a welcome aid to the reader. On the other hand, for the ambitious and the patient, this book could serve as a useful introduction to this very history.

"One of the most remarkable figures in the history of thought," Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā to Muslims) is certainly worthy of attention. To

quote from the author's conclusion: "Culturally one of the creators of the Persian Renaissance in the tenth century, in the field of philosophy he was the culmination of that momentous movement that started with Kindī and his early associates, and, propagated in the happiest manner by the conscientious and painstaking translators, eventually extended far beyond the limits of Eastern lands. With a wideness of range, a vigour of thought, and a unity of conception unequalled among the *Falāsifa*, he constructed the most complete philosophical system that the Islamic world was to have. The system owed much to his predecessors, whether Greek, Hellenistic or Muslim; but he gave to his successors in the East as well as in the West far more than he ever received. The only man to combine philosophy and medicine with such marked distinction, he built an intellectual edifice that could not be surpassed for centuries after him. A lonely and often suspected figure throughout all his life, a poor player of State politics, he rose to become a leader of thought who has exerted the most profound and lasting influence on his countrymen."

The core of the book consists of half a dozen chapters dealing with the life and works of the philosopher, first by general survey (ch. II), then by closely written analyses explicating,

interpreting, and evaluating his contribution to problems of logic, metaphysics, psychology, religion, and medicine and the natural sciences (chs. III-VII). This discussion is set in the framework of introductory and concluding chapters which relate Avicenna to his past and future: the impact of Greek classical thought on the Muslims, the translators of the classics, the earlier foundations laid by Kindī and Fārābī (Introduction); then the nature of the Persian Renaissance of the tenth century and the great doctor's part therein (ch. I); and, in conclusion, the nature of the philosopher's continuing influence upon his successors in the East almost down to modern times (ch. VIII) and upon the great figures of the West, such as William of Auvergne, St. Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of Occam (ch. IX).

One of the book's notable features is that throughout the discussion the author gives meticulous attention to terminology, connotation, and meaning from Greek through Arabic to Latin and modern languages. For this work the author prepared by creating his own technical lexicon (*Lexique des Termes de Logique en Grec, Anglais, Français, Persan et Arabe*, Paris, 1954) and the salutary effect is to be seen on almost every page.

The text is carefully documented, although in no way to be obtrusive; indeed, one of the possible criticisms of the work is the brevity and, except to the specialist, the nearly cryptic nature of that documentation. There is an excellent, however brief, selected bibliography, which includes the significant contributions of the last decade or so. The two-page index, however, is inadequate and disappointing, especially for such a basic and comprehensive work that thereby could be made more useful to the student.

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BRITISH INTERESTS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST. A Report by a Study Group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. 12s 6d.

Reviewed by Georgiana G. Stevens

Of the numerous postmortems since Suez, this compact report by a Chatham House study group, first set up in February 1956 to reassess British interests in the Mediterranean area, stands out. To a considerable degree it overcomes the usual hazards of group productions and offers in its final chapter a set of clear recommendations for future British policy in the area.

This is all the more remarkable because the Chatham House group included several military members, two former British ambassadors to Middle Eastern countries, and such independent observers as Elizabeth Monroe, Denis Healy and Peter Calvocoressi. Its aim was to identify Britain's actual interests in the area today; and to suggest ways which are both attainable and locally acceptable of supporting these interests. The fundamental proposition underlying the study is well stated at the end of the book:

The difference between the British position in the Middle East in 1945 and that of 1957 is so great as to make it clear that Britain has suffered a defeat of major dimensions. . . . If this defeat had occurred in wartime, the reduction of its effects and the reversal of its conclusions would have been given a high priority on the national resources. . . .

It is the consensus of this study that British interests in the Mediterranean and the Middle East are still so vital that much effort and brain should be exerted to protect and guarantee them. Four continuing, essential interests in the area are listed: to obtain oil and transport it to Europe "under fair commercial conditions;" to keep open trade and communications with Commonwealth and other countries east of the Suez; to promote Middle Eastern political stability; and to help ensure the Middle East land bridge to Africa against hostile Great Power influence or control.

In arriving at this list of essentials, the Chatham House group discards sharply the popular assumption that Britain in some way has or has had a special mission in the Mediter-

anean and Middle East. They examine rather wryly some of the mythology which has grown up around what is, in their view, a necessary, practical association with the area arising from mutual needs. Prestige comes last on their list of matters with which British policy should be concerned. Instead, it is suggested that Britain's dependence on Middle Eastern oil and on trade via the Suez Canal to and from the East needs first emphasis.

Reinforcing this view, the report includes a brief but comprehensive review of Britain's stake in Middle Eastern oil and an enlightening summary of the pipeline and giant tanker alternatives to transporting oil through the Suez Canal. At the time of writing, a year ago, the Group was not confident that the Canal under Egyptian control would be enlarged sufficiently to take future traffic loads or to be permanently open in times of dispute. Alternative routes are therefore given considerable attention. However, with 25 per cent of Britain's foreign trade going to or coming from Asia and another 10 per cent of exports going to Middle Eastern countries themselves, it is frankly admitted that the area and its use as a highway to the East is vital to Britain's economy.

Given these hard facts, the study group suggests methods by which, in this period of Britain's curtailed economic and military power, it may still reestablish a productive relationship with today's nationalists—by recognition of the elementary and not very revolutionary demands of the educated, new class in Middle Eastern society; and an oblique, unofficial approach rather than too direct an official one in this period of continuing post-Suez tensions. Beyond this, it is argued that bringing more interested parties into the situation may make a fresh approach simpler for all sides. Here, for example, the natural advantage to Britain of having four Asian and three African members of the Commonwealth share its interests in the Canal is emphasized.

The report's pessimistic conclusions on Cyprus are now presumably out of date. The discussion on Iraq and the Baghdad Pact includes a warning that Iraq's compromised position within the Arab family may have to be relieved. The events of the past year in Iraq

simply underline the book's argument for modernizing British policy in the entire area. The specific methods of modernization, as suggested in this book, appear to be the only ones left, or only ones likely to succeed. They can be studied with profit by all Westerners concerned with the area in its period of awakening and struggle.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN EGYPT, ISRAEL AND TURKEY, by the United Nations Department of Economic Affairs. New York: 1958. xiv + 131 pages. \$1.50.

Reviewed by Harold Lubell

Such industrialization as has already occurred in the Middle East has taken place in three of the area's oil-poor countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. The first systematic examination of the history and present status of industry in these countries in comparable terms is contained in an outstanding recent report of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations on *The Development of Manufacturing Industry in Egypt, Israel and Turkey*.

The team of UN economists who prepared the report have done a heroic job of drawing together all the published and unpublished data available in five languages in the censuses and other official and unofficial documents in the three countries, and of coming out with a coherent, consistent account of the results of their investigation. There are still gaps in the data, which it was not the function of the UN team to fill, but it is evident that the consolidation of information and clarification of ideas performed by the authors will make this report the starting point for any future studies on industrialization in any of the three countries. The notes on the available statistics of the three countries in the appendix of the report are by themselves sufficient justification for acquiring a copy of the document.

The reader should be warned, when becoming immersed in detailed data on one or another aspect of manufacturing industry in underdeveloped countries such as the three Middle Eastern countries under discussion, to keep in mind the almost absurd difference in scale and scope of manufacturing between these countries and developed economies of Europe, North America or Japan. The UN report manages to retain a hold on this kind of reality in some respects, for example in its frequent insistence on the fact that what is called the machinery and equipment sector in the industrial censuses in Egypt, Israel and Turkey consists to a large extent of repair shops, to a small extent of assembly plants for imported parts, and almost not at all of complete-process manufacturing of machinery and equipment. An even more sobering comparison of the various magnitudes in the three countries may be made with those in certain highly industrialized areas of developed countries elsewhere. In the New York - New Jersey - Connecticut area of the United States, for example, value added by manufacturing per capita of total population is about 100 times that in Egypt and 10 times that in Israel.

The UN report is careful not to draw any invidious comparisons among the three countries. Indeed, the report goes out of its way to avoid political overtones, as in the statement (p. 76) that "Petroleum, which once came through a pipeline from Iraq to Haifa, must now be transported from Venezuela, the Soviet Union or elsewhere at much higher costs"; "elsewhere" is, of course, a charming euphemism for "Iran."

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST 1957-1958, prepared and published by the United Nations. New York: 1959. viii + 104 pages. \$1.25.

Reviewed by Francis Boardman

This ninth annual survey of economic developments in the Middle East issued by the United Nations is a supplement to the *World Economic Survey*, 1958. Moreover, although no UN eco-

nomic commission has been established for the Middle East, the report complements the fuller studies published each year by the existing UN economic commissions for other areas of the world—ECLA (Economic Commission for Latin America), ECE (Europe), ECA (Africa), and ECAFE (Far East).

The survey covers 19 countries, i.e., the Shaykhdoms, the Arab States (except those in North Africa), Turkey, Iran, Israel, Aden and Cyprus. Beginning with a meaty, three-page summary, the report ends with a statistical appendix of 37 tables which occupies over one-half of the book. The balance, including 161 footnotes and frequent references to the tables, discusses overall changes in the Middle East during 1957-58 in production, trade and capital inflow under four main headings: agriculture, industry, petroleum, and foreign trade and payments.

According to the report, agricultural output in the area expanded in both 1957 and 1958 at rates slightly exceeding the increase in population. Also, the pattern of production continued to shift toward industrial cash crops and progress was made in agrarian reform. This is the first time the important subject of land tenure has been specially treated in the UN series since the 1953-1954 survey.

The section on industry (excluding oil) refers to a unique Quantum Indices of Output table (no. VII, p. 64) which reflects a general rise in major industrial products for the area since 1952. Increases in electricity and chemicals are revealed as particularly high.

Also, for the first time in this series, the chapter on Middle Eastern petroleum includes tables which give estimated oil revenues (more than \$1¼ billion in 1958 and over \$1 billion in 1957 vs. \$188 million in 1950) and revenues from transport by pipeline and tankers through the Suez Canal (\$89 million in 1958 and \$52 million in 1957 vs. \$39 million in 1950) (nos. III and IV, pp. 30-31). Other tables show that although the oil industry experienced a production set-back as a result of the Suez crisis of 1956, the former level of output was regained by mid-1957 and rose by 20 per cent in 1958.

The final chapter indicates, with respect to the geographical pattern of trade for the area,

that there was a decline in intra-Middle Eastern trade and a rise in commercial relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Every Middle Eastern country showed a trade deficit in 1958, exclusive of oil.

This latest survey differs markedly from the 1956-1957 report which was devoted principally to a review and an analysis of recent inflationary pressures, and from the 1953-1954 survey which covered a ten-year period. However, in its general approach it is similar to the other earlier issues, though unfortunately shorter than all but the first two. Also, it is less concerned than the others with public finance and the planning and coordination of development projects.

To present a completely thorough, up-to-date picture and analysis of the economic changes in each individual Middle Eastern country and of the area *in toto* is more than any person or group has yet achieved. Nevertheless, the Middle East Unit of the UN Secretariat's Department of Economic and Social Affairs is to be commended for another excellent and constructive effort in this direction and for making available in English, French and Arabic at UN sales offices throughout the world a stimulating and dependable reference work which will be helpful to specialists and non-specialists alike, and which cannot be found in any other single volume.

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THE NEAR EAST: A MODERN HISTORY, by William Yale. The University of Michigan Press. Ann Arbor, 1958. x + 485 + xix pages. \$7.50.

Reviewed by George Lenczowski

The main portion of this volume is dedicated to the history of the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth centuries. The Tanzimat, the Hamidian régime, the Balkan wars, and World War I are treated in considerable detail. The author is obviously at home with this part of the subject matter, having been not only a lifelong student of Middle Eastern history, but also, as a United States Military Observer at General

Allenby's headquarters during World War I, having personally participated in some momentous events. In fact, this personal involvement in Middle Eastern affairs finds its expression in many comments and reminiscences interspersed throughout the book. The author does not hesitate to state his views forcefully, taking a stand on many controversial issues. While as a technique of writing history this method might encounter criticisms, there is no doubt that it enlivens the book which, due to the abundant detail of some of its sections, might otherwise prove hard reading.

A few examples of such controversial opinions may be cited here. Speaking of the Armenian massacres, the author refers to the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and asks, "Who now, having participated in these world conflicts, would dare to cast a stone at Abdül Hamid for the massacre of a few thousand resulting from the pursuit of policies based on his ideologies?" (p. 101). In another place he likens Abdül Hamid's secret police to the American F. B. I.—a rather daring comparison (p. 107). On page 73 he calls the Crimean War stupid and useless; yet on page 78 he acknowledges that as a result of it Russia's southward expansion had suffered a serious reverse. If that is so, perhaps the Turko-Western resolution not to submit to Russian ultimatum was not so stupid and useless.

On the credit side of the book, one should mention the author's consistent tendency to link Middle Eastern history with corresponding events in Europe. Professor Yale seems at his best when he presents a close relationship between the historical happenings in these two areas. Another virtue is the emphasis he places on domestic developments in the Ottoman Empire: political, economic, and cultural, pointing to their influence upon the Empire's foreign relations.

The history of the Middle East after World War II is treated in a more abbreviated form than the preceding material, although there is no lack of deeper insights into the meaning of events described. The more recent developments, especially those during and after World War II are treated in some cases more sketchily, and the last-minute attempt to add a section on the

Iraqi revolution of 1958 has all the characteristics of a hasty composition which could be left out without impairing the basic values of the book.

The author has defined the "Near East" rather arbitrarily, leaving Iran out of his account. The chapter on oil is not up-to-date, for it relies on the statistics of 1954. The volume would gain in fluency by judicious pruning of such repetitious passages as the one concerning the Ottoman Debt, for example. Greater care and consistency in editing would also be welcome. The transliteration of Arabic words could be improved. Thus the author speaks of *Dar-e-Islam* rather than *Dar al-Islam*, of Abraham Kubba rather than Ibrahim Kubba, etc. But these are relatively minor blemishes in a major work which is a fine testimony to the author's erudition and experience.

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ARAB WORLD

EGYPT IN TRANSITION, by Jean & Simonne Lacouture. Translated by Francis Scarfe. New York: Criterion Books, 1958. 532 pages. \$7.50.

Reviewed by Don Peretz

There are few books about the Middle East which are as well written as is *Egypt in Transition* by the husband and wife team of Jean and Simonne Lacouture. The observations, analysis and conclusions of the two French foreign correspondents unfold from several years of residence in Egypt and North Africa. They have probed with intelligence and sympathetic but highly critical understanding the political, economic, social and cultural life of revolutionary Egypt. Although statistical data and factual background fill the volume, they are woven by the finest of journalistic styles into a narrative which suffers in no way from the excellent translation of Francis Scarfe.

Because the authors have interspersed their story of the revolution with numerous personal observations and reports of meetings with a wide variety of individuals representing most strata and phases of modern life, *Egypt in*

Transition is a living account of the contemporary Egyptian scene. The chapters, "The Land and Its Men" and "Cairo—City of Convulsions," are two examples of the kind of descriptive writing which gives the reader insights far more meaningful than volumes of statistical data, although the scenes of rural and urban life here portrayed are verified with sufficient authentic research material to support the conclusions which the authors draw from their observations.

They, like nearly all informed observers of modern Egypt, agree with and document the assertion that the population explosion is the greatest deterrent to more rapid progress, the most serious problem facing the country, and the one most likely to create a crisis of monumental proportions in the near future. According to the Lacoutures, the annual natural increase reached some 700,000 within the past five years.

Although the chapter on "Industrialization and Social Problems" is brief, within a few pages it presents one of the best descriptions of the structure of Egyptian industry and the role of the worker that I have read. The chapter dealing with "The Aswan Dam Problem" is another piece of accurate, concise narrative which offers the layman not only a comprehensible but also an interesting analysis of a complicated problem.

The book suffers from poor organization and improper balance in its presentation of historical background leading to the revolution. Beginning with "The Advent of Bonaparte" the first part of the pre-revolutionary history concludes with "The Burning of Cairo." In the dozen chapters which comprise this first section, there is a fairly good chapter of the Wafd, but only a passing mention of the Muslim Brotherhood and its importance prior to 1952. The triangular struggle for power between the Wafd, the Palace and the British in the inter-war era is only alluded to despite the importance of this conflict in the pre-revolutionary decades.

The four concluding chapters dealing with the Suez crisis and the creation of the United Arab Republic seem to have been tacked on as after-thoughts advised by the publisher to make the work "timely." To be significant, a work

of this sort need not rely on current events. The bulk of the book which analyzes the impact of the revolution on Egypt is a contribution in itself.

There is a decided tendency to overemphasize the importance of Communism in Egypt and its influence with the régime. In the section devoted to communism, the authors borrow heavily for their historical background from W. Laqueur's *Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East*. In the chapter on political parties, more pages are devoted to the various fragmentary communist groups than to the Muslim Brotherhood or the Wafd, thus decidedly distorting the significance of the movement in present day Egypt.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE SUEZ CANAL STATUS FROM 1869 UP TO 1956, A HISTORICO-JURIDICAL STUDY, by Benno Avram. Paris: Librairie Minard, 1958. 170 pages. \$4.00

LE CANAL DE SUEZ, by B. Boutros-Ghali and Youssef Chlala. Alexandrie: Société Égyptienne de droit international, 1958.

Reviewed by Quincy Wright

The first of these studies provides a careful résumé of the law of the Suez Canal. Documents are discussed in historical sequence and expounded with reference to the diplomatic correspondence leading to their conclusion. The Constantinople Convention of 1888 is subjected to rigorous juridical analysis as are the incidents involving its interpretation during the various hostilities such as the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1896, the Spanish-American War, the Russo-Japanese War and the Italian war in Libya. The British action in the two World Wars is considered in detail, and the discussions during the Italo-Ethiopian conflicts of 1936 and the Egyptian-Israel hostilities of 1948 constitute the major focus of the book. Little is omitted, but in expounding the various arguments which might have justified closing the canal to Italy as a sanction against Mussolini's aggression in Ethiopia (pp. 72ff.), the author apparently does

not refer to the report of the League of Nations subcommittee which concluded that Italy, a party to the Covenant, would have had no legal complaint if denied the right of free transit through the Canal. Even though this right was provided by the Constantinople Convention, Italy had accepted in a later treaty the liability to economic sanctions (see 30 *American Journal of International Law*, Supplement, 1936, pp. 48, 51).

In comparing the British restrictions on the use of the Canal in World War II with the Egyptian restrictions against Israel after 1948, the author says, "In 1939 the main object had been to keep the Canal open to navigation under any circumstances, whatever the cost or effort. At that time this was in the interest of all the parties concerned: Egypt, Great Britain, her allies and the Suez Canal Company. Their interest coincided with the letter and spirit of the 1888 Convention." But when Egypt violated the principles of the Convention by her restrictions in 1948, "no danger of disturbance to navigation existed and Egypt's opponents had neither the means nor the interest to obstruct traffic." A major difference was that the British were able to enforce their regulation outside the Canal Zone while Egypt could only implement its regulations within the Canal itself (pp. 107-108). However, at an earlier period the author had said, "The measures taken (in 1939) and the way they were applied aimed at respecting the form of the 1888 Convention. Regarding the spirit of that agreement, its violation was not less flagrant in 1939-1945 than during the years 1914-1918" (p. 94).

These are minor lapses. The book presents a careful exposition and analysis and is especially important in bringing together the relevant material on the still pending Israeli-Egyptian dispute and in analyzing, from the point of view of general international law and the Charter, the Egyptian contention that a state of war existed; and that it permitted prohibitions against Israel's use of the Canal even after the armistice and after the Security Council Resolution of 1951 supporting the Israel position.

The book does not consider the issues that arose from the Israel and Anglo-French invasions of Egypt in 1956 although it provides important material bearing upon this controversy.

The volume by Boutros-Ghali and Chlala, on the other hand, deals primarily with the latter situation. It presents in chronological order in French and Arabic the texts of concessions, treaties and laws bearing on the Canal from 1854 to 1948. However, most space is given to the acts of governments and the United Nations debates and resolutions from 1951 to 1958 relating to the nationalization of the Canal and the interventions. There is little comment although in some cases editing and explanations favor the Egyptian position (see treatment of the United Nations Council Resolution of September 1, 1951, p. 23). In a brief introduction the editors present the history of the Canal and conclude, "In last analysis, the crisis of Suez has marked a turn in the evolution of relations between the Occidental world and the Afro-Asian world, and this turn has occurred at a moment when, in spite of appearances, the dialogue between the Orient and the Occident can be carried on between equals.

"The nationalization of the Suez Canal Company appears up to now as a highly positive act . . . which has permitted Egypt to prove to the world that courage, organization and confidence are not the monopoly of the Occident alone. It has permitted the world to prove to Egypt that there exists an economic solidarity and an international conscience" (p. 12).

The two books supplement each other, both in the materials which they present, and in the points of view they espouse. They are useful additions to the literature on the Suez Canal.

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FACE AU NATIONALISME ARABE, by Jacques Baulin. Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1959. 176 pages. 700 fr.

Reviewed by Paul L. Hanna

Jacques Baulin has written a tract for the times—times in which the nations of the West,

involved in an ideological and power struggle with the Soviet Union and its satellites, are faced with the awakened nationalism of the underdeveloped and formerly colonial peoples. Though Baulin devotes his work primarily to a consideration of conditions in the Arab world, his analysis and prescription are in general, as he himself makes clear, applicable to the non-Arab areas of Asia and Africa as well.

The basic conditions out of which nationalism has arisen among the "backward" peoples the author finds in the break-up of tribal and feudal cultural patterns under the impact of Western contacts and in the strivings of new intellectual and middle classes for position and economic advancement. He points to the emergence of a foreign-trained intelligentsia which finds its path to the most honorable, influential, and remunerative positions blocked by the favored status of foreign nationals. He emphasizes the appearance of a native middle class which comes to resent the preferential position of foreign businessmen and investors and to seek to monopolize the local markets for itself. He notes the rise of a laboring class, torn from its traditional moorings and barely eking out a miserable existence, but conscious of the possibility of a better life and ready to strike out against whatever seems to stand in the way of its attainment. These are the elements out of which nationalist movements, led by the native intellectual and middle classes and directed against Western imperialism, have been created.

Turning specifically to the Arab world, Baulin examines and rejects the idea that contemporary Arab nationalism is unique by reason of being a primarily religious phenomenon. He discusses the secularization of life in the Muslim world, the conflicts between various Muslim peoples such as the Arabs and the Turks, and friendships of Muslim and non-Muslim states such as 'Abd al-Nasir's Egypt and Nehru's India and concludes that the Arab nationalist movement, like its twentieth-century counterparts, is basically economic and political. "The key to the Near East," he writes, "is not found in the Koran."

Baulin castigates not only those who argued that the Arab world was immune to Com-

munism because of the antipathy supposed to exist between Islam and Communist ideology, but also those who today tend to equate Arab nationalism and Communism because of their common antagonism to the West. While middle-class nationalist leaders and Communists may operate as allies at certain junctures, their ultimate purposes are opposed. The West, Baulin maintains, has failed to take advantage of this fact, while the Soviet Union has played its cards well. The West itself, says Baulin, is today "one of the best agents of international Communism in the Arab East."

What then is Baulin's prescription for the West? It is to come to terms with the middle-class nationalism of the new and emerging states of Asia and Africa in order to cut the ground from under the Russians. The West should abandon its attitude of superiority in dealing with peoples of non-European culture. It should give up its policy of supporting "feudal" régimes in the interest of maintaining its economic concessions and should, if necessary, accept their nationalization. It should recognize the effective independence of its colonial dependencies and former dependencies and their right to pursue a policy of neutralism between Russia and the West. In view of the fact that the Soviet Union is already "in" the Middle East, the West should give serious consideration to Russian suggestions that the area be "neutralized" by joint agreement. Above all, the West should take the lead in organizing and supporting a massive, international program of economic aid to vitalize and industrialize the underdeveloped countries. With regard to the conflict between localism and unity in the Arab world, Baulin thinks that the West should adopt a cautious policy. He feels that local nationalisms have become too fully established to permit an organic union of the Arab peoples. He suggests, however, that the West should not oppose some form of confederation which might reconcile the aspirations of the Arabs for political union and the divergent interests of their local leaders.

Baulin's analysis of twentieth-century nationalism in the underdeveloped areas is marked by both insight and hard-headed realism. His prescription for the West, though not original,

might well be pondered in Washington, in London, and (with special reference to Algeria, which he does not specifically mention) in Paris.

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MA'RIKAT AL-MAŠIR AL-WAHID (*The Battle for a Common Future*), by Michel Aflaq. Beirut: Dār al-Ādāb, 1958. 185 pages. 250 piasters Lebanese.

Reviewed by Malcolm H. Kerr

Michel Aflaq is well known in the Arab world, particularly in his native Syria, as the leading ideologue of the Arab Socialist Renaissance (*Ba'th*) Party, which among Arab nationalist parties is the most determined to provide the nationalist movement with an ideological content of genuine substance and purposeful orientation. The collection of writings by Aflaq here under review is a useful sample of the party's professed concerns.

Ma'rikat al-Mašir al-Wāhid contains the texts of 34 speeches and newspaper editorials, almost all composed during 1956 and 1957. These cover such ideological topics as "the revolutionary nature of the Arab unity movement," "the battle between superficial and fundamental existence," "nationalism is a living truth with a positive humanist content" and "the struggle for unity is the struggle of the masses." There are several articles on the prospects for Syro-Egyptian unification, on the Algerian question and on the Suez attack of 1956. But these latter articles are also largely devoted to ideological discussions. With the recurrence of key words and phrases throughout, the same essential themes emerge from almost every chapter.

The first of these themes is that the traditional slogans of Arab nationalism, and the modes of thought behind them, are too often "superficial," "negative" and molded by circumstances. Arab nationalism must rise above simple denunciation of the familiar evils of colonialism, Zionism, sectarianism and feudalism. It must escape from the rigidity and sterility of propaganda psychology by finding its own unique "creativity"; it must profit from changing circumstances rather than be directed by

them; it must be "positive," "fundamental," "deep" and "humanist." There are few pages in the entire book in which one of these terms does not appear. What precisely they mean to Aflaq is none too clear, however, and despite his evident sincerity, one wonders whether the author himself is not running unwittingly on a treadmill of slogans.

The second of Aflaq's major themes is the need for a "popular" and "revolutionary" orientation of Arab nationalism. Here his position is clearer. The Ba'th calls for the harnessing of mass enthusiasms to the drive for Arab unification. The practical value of this idea has already been demonstrated by Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir. "Popular pressure"—presumably meaning strikes, demonstrations, etc.—is the key weapon in the struggle for unity and must be maintained (pp. 71-72). Genuine unity can be achieved only by a popular explosion of energy and determination, and not simply by governments, foreign powers, politicians or thinkers (pp. 38-39). Thus the Algerian rebellion is favorably contrasted with the independence movements in Tunisia and Morocco because Aflaq considers the rebellion a "people's war" in which mass human suffering testifies to a deep conviction of national identity. Aflaq is perhaps overly self-righteous in implying that all non-revolutionary Arab leadership is "superficial, heedless and self-indulging" (p. 101). Elsewhere his assertion that those who prefer evolution to revolution are "reactionaries" (p. 71) is reminiscent of Lenin's attacks on the Mensheviks.

The third of Aflaq's themes is Arab unity, which he envisions not so much in terms of practical utility but as an indefinable fulfillment of the yearnings and searchings of the collective Arab soul. At the time of the Suez attack he wrote, "The Arab people everywhere are demanding the power to choose, not between victory and defeat in the battle against imperialism and Israel, but to achieve unity and save the meaning of their existence by proving their active solidarity and giving expression to their Arabism in the struggle" (p. 107). The

fuzziness of these words should not be attributed to the translation.

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SYRIA AND LEBANON UNDER FRENCH MANDATE, by Stephen H. Longrigg. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. 404 + x pages. \$6.75. Under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Reviewed by Philip K. Hitti

Brigadier Longrigg, official for some years in the mandated territory of Iraq and author of two meritorious works—*Iraq, 1900-1950* and *Oil in the Middle East*—under the same auspices, has treated us to this new contribution. The book opens with two brief, background chapters dealing with the Ottoman and the First World War periods, proceeds to a record of the administration of the mandate, the happenings of the Second World War and the decline and fall of the mandate during and after that time, and closes with appendices comprising, among other material, the Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 22, the Mandate for Syria and Lebanon and bibliographical notes. The book is provided also with three maps and an adequate index. The treatment on the whole is fair and judicious; the tone is sober and the conclusions reached are sound. The reviewer has only a few reservations. That the administration of the mandate was a failure (though not as bad a failure as the British mandate over Palestine) and did not redound to the glory of France cannot be gainsaid by any objective student of the area. That the French conferred considerable advantages on the territory and rendered services which on the whole were unduly depreciated by the recipients also can be readily admitted, but the analysis of the reasons (pp. 145-7) misses an important factor—the psychological one: the resentment on the part of the "natives" of their being treated as inferiors by Europeans to whom they were not prepared to concede superiority except in one field—material civilization. This factor is habitually underestimated, especially by Western writers whose first-hand contacts are sporadic and

knowledge of the language is inadequate. It is clear, in this case, that the author used daily press material, original or translated, found in European-language newspapers and periodicals. This is manifest in the transliteration of names of persons and places; there is hardly one that cannot be improved upon. The long vowels are not reproduced. There is no such form as "Ba'lbeke," colloquial or classical. "Yusif" is colloquial, but "Mutawalli" (for Shi'ite) is so classical that it is never heard in use. Its plural is "Matawila" (more correctly *Matāwilah*) and not "Mutawila." "Hammama" and "Bahaşif" are evidently typographical errors for "Hammama" (more accurately "*Hammāna*") and "Baharşaf" ("*Baharşāf*"). For these names see the Index.

It may also be readily agreed that the British cherished no ambitious or malicious designs on Syria and had no desire to replace the French there, but that it is difficult to understand this common belief on the part of the French (Ch. VI) cannot be accepted—first in view of the treatment accorded the French in Egypt, India and Canada, and second in the light of the critical remarks repeatedly and openly expressed by local British officials in the neighboring mandated area. Equally vociferous was the condemnation of the British mandate by local French officials, leaving no question about the deep-seated, long-standing jealousy between the two rival powers.

No student of the area can afford to miss not only reading but also studying this book.

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IRAN

SOVREMENNYI IRAN [Contemporary Iran], Spravochnik, edited by B. N. Zakhoder. Moscow: Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1957. 716 pages. 24 rubles 80 kopeks (21 shillings).

Reviewed by Earnest R. Oney

This handbook of Iran is a good measure of the Soviet Union's most recent interest in the Middle East, forming, as it apparently does, part of a series of which Sultanov's *Sovremennaya Siriya* has also appeared.

In spite of the distortions introduced by its ideological framework, this book should be of considerable value to anyone interested in Iran. More than twenty authors listed in the introduction as contributing to the volume cover the social, political, and economic life of the country. The work is completed by 127 pages of appendices, a 51-page index and 43 pages of chronology from December 1905 to October 1956.

Several sections are of particular interest. There is a 36-page outline of standard Persian followed by sketches and sample texts of Kurdish (Kurmanji dialect), Gilaki, Mazanderani and Baluchi. This is all the more interesting as there is no modern scientific grammar of any of these languages in English. While the treatment in this book might not meet the canons of American descriptive linguists, the material presented suggests a high level of practical competence.

Under Political Parties and Organizations are listed 14 groups which have appeared in Iran since 1942, a useful compilation supplementing but not supplanting Elwell-Sutton's discussion (MEJ 1949). Most attention is given, predictably, to the Tudeh Party. The one and one-half page discussion avoids any mention of personalities, and the now familiar names of Reza Radmanesh and the rest are nowhere to be found, although other parties and groups have at least their founders indicated. So far as this book is concerned, the history of the party ends in 1949, the year it was outlawed in Iran, despite the fact that some of the party's most important activity followed this date.

As might be expected, it is in the political section that the traditional taglines of communist political commentary are most evident. Doctrinaire descriptions are, perhaps, of some use in indicating Soviet opinion of these parties; but they do not tell us much about what the party actually was, nor are they a substitute for a serious analysis.

The chapter on the press, newspapers and magazines, lists 71 publications each with a brief notice usually indicating date of publication, editor, and circulation. The thirteen major newspapers which originally made up the

Tudeh-controlled "Freedom Front" in 1943 are listed separately. The discussion of the "Freedom Front" is, however, more limited than that of Lenczowski. Consistent with the apparent policy of ignoring the Tudeh Party as an illegal organization, the Tudeh newspaper *Besuye Ayandeh*, which spearheaded the attack on the Shah in 1953, is nowhere mentioned except in footnotes as the source of some information.

In a discussion of modern Persian Literature, A. M. Shoitov gives pride of place to the "progressive" authors. There is a long and informative discussion of Abol Qassem Lahuti, the former Iranian gendarmerie officer and poet who fled to the USSR in 1922 after participating in an unsuccessful anti-government revolt. He continued his writing in the USSR, but in 1953 his memoirs in which he renounced communism and the Soviet Union were published in Tehran. Shoitov devotes one paragraph to attacking the "reactionary provocators" who were responsible for publishing this "falsification" and points out that Lahuti had immediately spoken over the radio denouncing his alleged memoirs. As a matter of fact, Iranians who knew Lahuti were not at all sure that the voice they heard was his.

Sadeq Hedayat (died 1951), generally considered Iran's most outstanding novelist and short story writer, well merits the full treatment he receives here. Communist commentators like to claim Hedayat as ideologically akin; and in 1957 Russian translations of 16 of Hedayat's short stories and novelettes were published in Moscow, something that has not yet been done in English. Hedayat was certainly in revolt against what he considered to be the abuses of society. Nevertheless, his second home was France not the USSR, and his interests there were Kafka and Sartre.

The appendices to this book are most useful. The Russian text of the Soviet-Iranian Agreement of 1921, interestingly, omits the annexes which limits the right of Soviet intervention in Iran only to action taken against the supporters of "the régime which has been overthrown," i.e., the Czarist régime. A list of about 1000 names of tribes and subtribes, arranged accord-

ing to subordination but without further data is probably the most exhaustive to be found anywhere.

Footnotes are frequent and brief bibliographies are placed at the ends of most chapters. Information is drawn from Iranian, Soviet and Western sources, but it is evident that much information is used which is unavailable in published form elsewhere. It is a comfort to find neither Lenin nor Stalin listed as an authority for anything.

The whole book, well-printed on good paper and bound in hard covers, is impressive. The only comparable work in English, the Human Relations Area File volume on Iran, unfortunately falls short of the Soviet production.

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ISRAEL

PRELUDE TO ISRAEL, AN ANALYSIS OF ZIONIST DIPLOMACY, 1897-1947, by Alan R. Taylor. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. Preface v-viii + 136 pages. Illustrated, notes, bibliography, index. \$4.75.

Reviewed by William Yale

Following a brief account of the origin of political Zionism and a statement of its aims before 1914, Dr. Taylor devotes two chapters to Zionist activities from 1914 to the establishment of the Palestine mandate in obtaining its first objectives.

Two brief chapters deal with the policies of the Zionists during the period of the mandate up to 1939. There follows an account of the reorientation of Zionist policy in reaction to the British White Paper of 1939. Chapter VII and VIII give an account of Zionist activities in Britain, Palestine and the United States during World War II. The final chapter is an account of how the Zionists gained the support of President Truman and the United Nations for the recognition of Israel.

In an epilogue the author discusses the unfulfilled aims of political Zionism and some of the implications of a continued use of the methods used by the Zionists since 1897.

Professor Taylor's thesis is that the ultimate aims of political Zionism have remained the same since the first World Zionist Congress, and that a sustained, continuous policy in pursuit of them has been maintained over a period of fifty years. He states that the basic Zionist premise is that the only solution of anti-Semitism is the recognition of the national status of all Jews; the reestablishment of Eretz Yisrael within its historical boundaries, including southern Lebanon and Jordan; and the liquidation of the Diaspora by an "ingathering" of all Jews in Israel. The author raises the question of whether or not the pursuit of these aims "may someday make Israel's position in the Middle East untenable."

This is a useful, valuable book for those with little knowledge of the Zionist movement and the aims, policies and methods employed by the leaders of political Zionism, as it contains much information that is unknown to the general public, even to that portion of it who consider themselves well-informed on international affairs. The book is well-documented, and the presentation is notably free of prejudice and propaganda.

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RIVERS IN THE DESERT: A HISTORY OF THE NEGEV, by Nelson Glueck. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1959. xv + 302 pages + 48 plates. \$6.50.

Reviewed by Ray L. Cleveland

Between the autumn of 1952 and the summer of 1957 President Nelson Glueck of the Hebrew Union College undertook six annual campaigns of archaeological exploration in the southern desert of Palestine. Using his unexcelled techniques of surface survey, based mostly on datable potsherds found exposed at ancient sites, Glueck has been able to reconstruct in broad outline the periods of significant sedentary life in this area. In spite of the hyperbolic title, *Rivers in the Desert* is actually a sober, scholarly presentation (though hardly a "history" in the academic meaning of the word) in non-technical terms of the most important factual information about the Negev

now available, supplemented throughout by the author's own personal interpretation of the data.

The principal periods of sedentary, agricultural cultures in the region of Beersheba and south to the Gulf of Aqaba, stated in archeological terms clearly explained by the author, are the Late Chalcolithic (roughly the middle of the fourth millennium B. C.), Middle Bronze I (21st to 19th centuries B. C., to which period Abraham is assigned, whether rightly or wrongly), Iron II (late tenth through seventh centuries B. C., the period of the Kingdom of Judah), and Nabataean-Byzantine (second century B. C. through sixth A. D.). Of great help to the non-specialist is a table of archaeological periods preceding the first chapter. A total of 61 excellent photographs satisfactorily illustrate the text. Of the three maps in the text, the one indicating the rainfall in the Negev (opposite p. 20) is most useful, since it graphically illustrates the relatively fair amount of rainfall of the northern zone (about eight inches) in contrast to the virtual absence of precipitation in the extreme south and in the Wadi Araba (one could wish that Sodom had not been marked on this map, inasmuch as its precise location is unknown). The identical maps of the Negev inside both the front and back covers, indicating the location of nearly every site mentioned in the text, are extremely convenient. It is unfortunate that the limits of the ancient geographical notion of the "Negev" are shown as conforming to definite modern political boundaries, when the term was actually less well defined.

While almost no criticism can be made of the author's archeological findings and their primary interpretation, the broader meaning he gives to his own findings and to those of his predecessors will be questioned by a significant number of scholars. In addition, many of his incidental statements are quite subjective. For instance, how can he logically characterize the "Hebrew of southern Judah" as being "soft-spoken," (p. 25) when no one knows what ancient Hebrew sounded like? His contrasting this to "quavering, nasal Arabic" is completely unjustifiable. When Glueck writes that the Negev "represents an amazing phenomenon which cannot be made completely understand-

able by any sum of rational factors," (pp. 17f.) the reader is amply warned that *Rivers in the Desert* has two distinct aspects: the presentation of factual archaeological data on the one hand and the unveiling of the author's poetic and religious nature on the other.

The last two chapters in the book, which describe the civilization of the Nabataeans and the succeeding Byzantine Christians, are not anticlimactic in any sense. From about the first century B. C. through the sixth A. D., southern and eastern Palestine saw the most widespread cultivation of the land and most flourishing commerce of any period in its history.

This book constitutes another worthy addition to the long list of both scholarly and non-technical publications from President Glueck's hand.

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THEODOR HERZL, FOUNDER OF POLITICAL ZIONISM, by Israel Cohen. New York and London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959. 399 pages. \$7.50.

Reviewed by the Hon. Edwin Samuel, C. M. G.

This is a well-written and masterly book which moves at a fast pace. The author, now eighty, saw Herzl when he made his first speech in the East End of London in 1896. Later Israel Cohen became General Secretary of the World Zionist Organization which Herzl created.

Herzl was outwardly an impressive figure. The author says that, "Nobody who ever saw him, as I did on several occasions, failed to be impressed by his distinguished presence, his dignified demeanor, his sheer physical beauty. . . . He looked a born leader, and it was his noble and towering figure, with his sonorous yet sympathetic voice, that enabled him to capture the hearts of the Jewish people to whom he came as a stranger from an un-Jewish world." Yet, by 1904, only eight years after he had published his staggering proposal for the establishment of a Jewish state, Herzl was dead.

Born in Hungary, of good Orthodox Jewish bourgeois stock, Herzl spent most of his early

life as a journalist in Vienna and Paris. He became largely assimilated to his surroundings, and the depths of hidden anti-Semitism that came to light when the Dreyfus scandal broke drove him to become the prophet of Jewish nationalism. He knew little of contemporary Jewish thought in the great Jewish centers of Eastern Europe; he did not speak Yiddish. When he wrote *The Jewish State*, he had not even read the work of his immediate predecessor, Leo Pinsker (1821-1891), whose *Auto-Emancipation* had been published fourteen years earlier, in 1882. Had he realized how fantastic his own ideas were, Herzl might never have launched them. He grossly under-estimated the difficulty of executing them. It needed twenty years of political organization and publicity, combined with the upheaval of World War I, to produce the Balfour Declaration in 1917.

Herzl's great claim to fame is that he created a democratic Jewish nationalist movement. "The Society of Jews" envisaged in his pamphlet, *The Jewish State*, became the Zionist Organization with its hundreds of Zionist Societies throughout the world and its periodically elected Zionist Congresses. His experience as a legislative correspondent in Paris enabled him to guide the Congresses along proper parliamentary paths. His journalistic flair helped him to persuade even the influential *Jewish Chronicle* in London to publish his pamphlet as a supplement, although the editor was basically hostile to his views. Nevertheless, his Jewish employer's paper in Vienna systematically boycotted all mention of Zionism in its pages. Hence he was forced, at great personal sacrifice, to start his own periodical, *Die Welt*, in Vienna.

In spite of his achievements, Herzl was subject to despondency. On June 1, 1901, he wrote in his diary, "If the Jewish State should one day exist, everything will appear small and a matter of course. Perhaps a just historian will find that it was after all something if a Jewish journalist without means, in the midst of the deepest humiliation, at a time of the most outrageous anti-Semitism, made a flag out of a rag and turned a sunken rabble into a people which rallied around it upright. But all this and adroitness in negotiations with powers and princes

are nothing. Nobody can appreciate what I have done and suffered who does not know (1) what I had to put up with the six years on the Neue Freie Presse, where I had to tremble for the bread of my children, (2) what anxieties and troubles I had to find the money for propaganda, and (3) who were my fellow workers. The best intentioned were either too poor or prevented or unsuitable."

One of Herzl's chief difficulties was to get adequate financial backing for his grandiose political proposals. At first no Jewish financier would have anything to do with them. It took two years for him to get even an appointment with the Rothschilds, although in 1917 it was to a Rothschild that the famous letter containing the Balfour Declaration was addressed. Having failed to get money from the rich, Herzl turned to the poor. "The Jewish Company" envisaged in his pamphlet, *The Jewish State*, took the form of a bank, the Jewish Colonial Trust, but even that company had great difficulty in raising capital and was of limited value to the Zionist Movement. The Jewish National Fund, established at the Fifth Zionist Congress in 1901, played a much larger role as the major Jewish land-buying agency in Palestine.

Herzl was a latter-day Jewish prophet, and a true one. In 1897, after the historic First Zionist Congress at Basle, he confided to his diary, "If I were to sum up the Basle Congress in one word—which I shall not do openly—it would be this: at Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I were to say this today, I would be greeted by universal laughter. In five years, perhaps, and certainly in fifty, everyone will see it. The State is already founded, in essence, in the will of the people to the State." The decision to create a Jewish State in Palestine was taken by the United Nations in 1947, exactly fifty years from the date of the First Zionist Congress.

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SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

UZBEK POETRY, ed. by A. M. Viazmina. Moscow: Oriental Languages Publishing House, 1958. 180 pages. 2 rubles, 75 kopecks.

Reviewed by Edward Allworth

Uzbek Poetry provides an opportunity for English-speaking peoples interested in Eastern literatures and Soviet Asian minorities to learn something about the literary works of the Uzbeks. This anthology, one of several books printed for visitors to the Afro-Asian writers' conference in Tashkent on October 8-13, 1958, is probably the first separate volume of Uzbek poetry ever published in English. The book is especially interesting because some of its contributors are now being given roles in Soviet contacts with the Middle East, Asia and Africa.

Although independent Uzbek literary development has been thwarted by Soviet Russian controls since the 1930's, Uzbek literature, based upon a tradition of Chaghatay (Turkic) and Persian writings, had experienced a promising modern revival under the influence of various Turkic reform movements between 1900 and 1925. Some of the poets introduced on these pages first appeared in that renaissance.

The Russian editor of the volume has combined a few selections by the fifteenth-century Chaghatay poet, Mir Ali Shir (Nevaiy), with works by Uzbeks Muhammad Amin Mirzakhoja-oghli (Muqimiy) (1851-1903), Zakirjan Khalmuhammad-oghli (Furqat) (1858-1909), and eleven recent poets. The first three Soviet-period writers in the book, Hamza Hakim-zada (Niyazi) (d. 1929), Musa Tashmuhammadov (Aybek), and Ghafur Ghulam are allotted twenty-four, one, and twenty-two pages, respectively. This distribution is not a measure of their relative merit, for Aybek has composed volumes of delicate lyric poetry and interesting narrative verse, while Niyazi and Ghulam are noted for topical rhymes and propaganda jingles.

Besides Aybek's "The Wild Rose," Hamid Alimjan's "Apricot Blossom," and Zulfiya Israilova's "Lilac," one of the most attractive recent poems is Mir Temir Tursunov's "Vel-

vet," which portrays Karakalpak scenes in such lines as:

Fancy a steppeland lad who never in his dreams
Had even seen sherbet, drank rain
From spring-time streams,
Who summers long could only long and pine for rain
And often than not had longed for it in vain,
When lo—Nukus regales him with a cup of bliss,
A velvet black in hue, in taste—like strong kumis.
Gleaming and glinting with the sunshine of the
steppes,
At first it chills one's very being to the depths,
Then slowly warms the blood and clarifies the sight,
Like female beauty, speeding fancy on its flight.
'Twas velvet ale, the balm I sipped that night.

Treatments of wine, spring, and love are interspersed among poems on war, racial prejudice, Berlin, Communism, Lenin (not Stalin), Moscow, and other recent Russian themes. Pre-1917 Uzbek poets are represented by a few works displaying the Oriental literary conceits and allegories characteristic of earlier Western Turkistan poetry.

Three Russian translators produced the English versions of these Uzbek poems from Russian interlinear translations of the Uzbek. The stiffness of the poems can be partly explained by this double translation which makes them twice removed from the original. If a translator had converted the lines directly from Uzbek into English, the result could have been better.

The main weakness of the collection, aside from its propaganda content, is the lack of folk poetry and the omission of works by the contemporary Uzbek poets Aydin Sabirova, Sabir Abdulla, Abdulla-oghli (Ghayraty), and by writers who were outstanding before the 1937-38 purges: Abdalrauf Fitrat, Abdul Hamid Sulayman Yunus (Cholpan), Mahmud Maq-sud Khadiev (Batu), Mir Mashriq Yunus (Elbek), and Usman Nasyr.

The brief "Foreword" by Izzat Sultanov is an unreliable introduction to Uzbek poetry, particularly because of serious omissions and the obtrusive Russian Marxist bias. It is marred also by substantive errors (e.g., it states that Abdulla Qadiriyy wrote only poetry before 1917, although he had previously also created drama and narrative prose).

Except for Mamarsul Babayev's provocative and hostile poem, "The Persian Rug," the se-

lections offer no offense to Middle Eastern, Asian and African readers. Most crude forms of Russian invective against the West have been omitted, though in "Your Signature" Ghafur Ghulam ascribes to the United States "aggression and menace, evasion and lies. . . ."

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ISLAM

ISLAM IN WEST AFRICA, by J. Spencer Trimingham. London: Oxford University Press, 1959. x + 262 pages. \$4.80.

Reviewed by Alfred Guillaume

The author begins with a survey of the geography and climate of West Africa and goes on to describe the habits and way of life of the peoples inhabiting its different zones. Africans, he tells us, believe in a Supreme Being, a Creator of the Universe, who is impersonal and unknowable. Religion is primarily ritual, and its purpose is to preserve the harmony of nature. *Mutatis mutandis*, African religion would seem to have a good deal in common with the pattern of myth and ritual which Professor Hooke has brought to the fore.

There follows an account of the clash between Islam and pagan institutions with the note that "the extent of effective Islamic penetration must not be overestimated." The author is undoubtedly right in finding the strongest centers of Islam in urban areas. His pages on forcible conversion and social coercion form a valuable corrective to Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*.

Students of Islam will not be surprised to read that Islam has incorporated much of the animism rife among the Africans, for Zwemer in *The Influence of Animism on Islam* showed how deeply this is rooted in Islam. A good deal that is said about African Islam is true also of Asian Islam.

This book is a valuable guide to the anthropology, mythology and beliefs of the inhabitants of the northern half of Africa; the reader will learn facts that are hard to come by elsewhere.

For example, it is interesting to read that the people of Western Guinea hold a belief parallel to the classical crossing of the Styx which, though attributed to Muslim influence, has nothing whatever to do with the *širāf*. Professor Trimmingham has collected and classified an enormous amount of information useful to the student of comparative religion. The sections on sorcery and witchcraft, divination and necromancy are particularly interesting.

The chapter on Institutional Islam gives a clear picture of the means by which the hold of Islam on the life of the people is strengthened and perpetuated. The clergy, the teachers, the little village mosques, the imams and muezzins, the Friday prayers and the observance of the Muslim calendar with its feasts and fasts—all serve to foster the community sense among the believers. One reads with pleasure that in Africa the ancient and honorable Muslim practice of the teacher's performing his office free of charge and depending only on gifts from parents is faithfully observed. The author draws attention to the fact that Arabic as a language has failed to penetrate Africa apart from the north and the Nilotic Sudan. On the other hand, a large number of Arabic words, generally corrupted it would seem, have seeped into the various languages in religious, political and commercial contexts.

Islam as a universal religion has a certain unifying effect on the various peoples of this vast area, and its growing power in a community of interest cannot be ignored. Probably the village school is, and will continue to be, the main factor in the more thorough Islamization of Africa.

In his concluding chapter the author sums up the effect of Western civilization and gives his reasons for thinking that "on the whole, Western rule has favored the expansion of Islam." However, the secularist policy of new states which have gained their independence may well apply a brake to this movement. Practically 60 per cent of the population is still pagan. This enormous population offers a challenge to Christianity and Islam and, the reviewer would add, to communism.

The author adds a glossary of Arabic and Af-

rican words to what is in effect a small but invaluable encyclopedia.

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TAXATION IN ISLAM, Volume I: Yahyā Ben Ādam's *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, edited and translated by A. Ben Shemesh. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958. 172 pages. 24 guilders.

Reviewed by Farbat J. Ziadeh

The subject of taxation in Islam has attracted the attention of Orientalists since the turn of the century. Perhaps no other subject of public law has elicited the same interest. Wellhausen, Becker, Caetani, Grohmann, Lammens, Hartmann and Tritton have all dealt with it in one way or another. This interest might be explained by the intimate relationship the subject has to the economic growth of the Arab empire, the question of conversion to Islam, the differences in the administrative and financial machinery established (or continued) in the various provinces and the maintenance of Arab armies.

The first book entirely devoted to the subject to appear in English was Nicolas P. Aghnides' *Mubammadan Theories of Finance* (New York, 1916). Recently two other excellent works appeared in English: D. C. Dennett, Jr., *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950), and F. Lokkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950). The first book questions Wellhausen's theory about the rise and fall of the Arab empire—a theory based in part on a rejection of accounts by Muslim jurists relative to taxation—and insists that such accounts are substantially correct. The second book raises interesting problems that cannot be said to be settled as yet. A third book, S. A. Siddiqi, *Public Finance in Islam* (Lahore, 1948), is a compilation of material from Muslim sources.

The questions and problems raised by Dennett and Lokkegaard, and a host of other questions, can best be resolved by having recourse to all Arabic classics dealing with the subject. But these classics with their laconic, medieval

and juristic Arabic do not easily unfold their contents except to a person thoroughly at home with that language. In fact, one such classic, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* by Qudāmah, is still in manuscript. Only the work of Abu Yūsuf, also entitled *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, was made available in a European language (translated into French by E. Fagnan, 1921); hence the special value of the present work by the Professor of Middle Eastern law at Tel Aviv University.

Professor Ben Shemesh has presented a complete translation into English of Yahyā ibn Ādam's compilation of *ḥadīth* (traditions) touching upon taxation with annotations and indices; an introduction dealing with the author and his contemporaries, with the various books on *kharāj*, and with the manuscript and its contents as compared to contents in similar works; a list of legal precepts attributable to traditions in the compilation; and a very interesting discussion of the "certificates of hearing" (*samā*, certificates testifying that a certain person studied the work under a certain teacher) found on the margins of the manuscript. The fact that the translator refers to this work as Volume I under the general title of *Taxation in Islam* indicates that he intends to edit and translate other volumes—presumably those of Abu Yūsuf and Qudāmah ibn Ja'far.

The way was not entirely unprepared for ascertaining the Arabic text of this work. In 1896 Thomas W. Juynboll published a text with discussion of some of the "certificates of hearing." An edition prepared in Cairo by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir in 1928, and based on Juynboll's edition, classified the various traditions into "sound" and "weak," according to the traditional Muslim method, and made several corrections in the text. Thus, except for some half a dozen corrections proposed by the present translator, the Arabic text was well ascertained. Further, in deciphering the names found in the "certificates of hearing" the translator gives credit to G. Vajda's extensive researches on the subject.

A spot check of the translation shows that it is substantially correct, but numerous mistakes in transliteration and some misreadings of Arabic words mar the book. The Arabic term *ṣāhib al-kharāj* refers to the man entrusted with

the collection of taxes and not to an author of a book on *kharāj* (p. 6).

With the legal questions discussed in the Introduction one cannot disagree except perhaps to say that although the rule that the holder of state land will forfeit his right if he leaves such land uncultivated for three years "is still to be found in the land laws in force" in Iraq, Jordan and Israel (p. 17), such a rule, to my knowledge, has not been enforced.

Notwithstanding the slight reservations mentioned above, the book is both useful and instructive.

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LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

THE PHONOLOGY OF COLLOQUIAL EGYPTIAN ARABIC, by Richard S. Harrell. New York: ACLS, 1957. \$2.00.

Reviewed by Saad M. Gamal

This book, which is a revision of a doctoral dissertation presented to Harvard University in 1956, is intended to furnish the reader with a concise, reliable phonology of Colloquial Egyptian Arabic. The author collected his material during his stay in Egypt as a Fulbright scholar (1954-1955), and supplemented it further from the speech of native informants on the campus of Harvard University.

In a brief preface the author sets forth the intention of his work: to fill a need long felt by teachers of English in Egypt for an adequate description of Egyptian Arabic on the basis of which teaching material could be prepared. The book, I think, successfully achieves this purpose, and it is interesting to note that contrastive analyses of Egyptian Arabic and American English based on it are already appearing.¹ It is to be hoped that Dr. Harrell's book will stimulate further investigation into the higher levels of the Egyptian dialect.

His analysis leaves little to be desired. Having defined his field (Ch. I) and laid down

¹ cf. Walter Lehn and William R. Slager, "A Contrastive Study of Egyptian Arabic and American English: The Segmental Phonemes," *Language Learning*, 1959, IX, pp. 25-33.

some phonetic preliminaries (Ch. II), the author takes up the suprasegmental phenomena of juncture, stress and intonation (Chs. III-V). In the absence of acoustic aids, he depends on his own auditory impressions, and the results are, if a native speaker's ears are to be trusted, most satisfactory. One of the author's significant contributions is the establishment of the phonemic status of stress, a phenomenon which had received but little attention.

The segmental phonemes, which occupy Chapters VI-VIII, are thoroughly treated, although I disagree with the author on some of his findings. In his tabulation of the consonants, for instance, he includes two phonemes /q/ and /z/ which, significantly, he puts between brackets as of marginal occurrence. I prefer to exclude /q/ and /z/ from the inventory of the consonants of colloquial Egyptian Arabic on two grounds: (1) their occurrence is limited to borrowed items, and (2) wherever /z/ and /q/ occur, they are likely to be replaced in normal colloquial by other phonemes.

The author's list of permissible clusters also needs revision in some details. Some of his "non-occurring" clusters do occur. In 6.10.3 he states that the sequence /cy/ does not occur in final position. Here are some examples of its occurrence: /gary/ 'running,' /rafy/ 'darning' and /lagy/ 'cancelling.' In 6.15.1 the sequence /rl/ is listed as non-occurring in medial position. Examples, though rare, do occur; /bir-lanti/ 'a precious stone' is such an example.

Dr. Harrell devotes Chapter VIII to the vexing problem of emphasis in colloquial Egyptian Arabic. He defines its articulatory characteristics, distinguishes between primary and secondary emphasis on the basis of distribution and winds up by interpreting the phenomenon as "a prosodic feature which occurs over segments of variable length, but which has a minimal domain of a consonant plus a neighboring vowel." Dr. Harrell thus raises two questions which he leaves unanswered: (1) If emphasis is a prosodic feature, does it enter into combinations with the other suprasegmental phenomena? (2) What inhibits the occurrence of emphasis?

These and other problems have as yet to be settled. But Dr. Harrell's work is certainly a solid foundation on which future work can be built.

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SHORTER NOTICES

ARABIC MADE EASY, by Mouncef Saheb-Ettaba and Caroline Squire Saheb-Ettaba. New York: David McKay Company, 1959. x + 246 pages. \$3.50.

This book claims to be a new and easier way to teach Americans to speak, read and write Arabic, which is supposed to be about the same throughout the Arabic-speaking world. The vocabulary is said to be "based on the everyday language of the Arabic-speaking peoples." These statements raise serious questions. Specifically, the potential student should be warned of three things: (1) The Arabic taught is colloquial Moroccan, although this is not stated, and many of the words and grammatical features are unknown or differently used elsewhere in the Arab world. (2) The written Arabic in the book is not the modern Classical in use throughout the Arab world but spoken Moroccan, which is not normally written and is not fully intelligible in the Eastern two-thirds of the Arab world. (3) The handwriting is Moroccan and would be unacceptable in much of the Arab world.

If the American student wants to study modern written Arabic, or any kind of conversational Arabic other than Maghribi, he should use other, far better textbooks. If he wants to study spoken Moroccan Arabic, he may find the book quite useful, although it is inferior to several other textbooks in this field.

♦ CHARLES A. FERGUSON, Washington, D. C.

DE CUSTODE TERRAE SANCTAE IN LEGISLATIONE ORDINIS FRATRUM MINORUM, by P. Caecilianus Brlek, O. F. M. Jerusalem: 1958. No price indicated.

This thirty-nine page treatise is a study of the place of the Custos, Custodian or Guardian, of the Holy Land in Franciscan legislation. The

Franciscans, as known to all those interested in the history of Palestine, have played a most important part in the life of the Holy Land since the establishment of the Province of the Holy Land in 1217. Hence, any publication and study of the abundant documents of the Order is to be welcomed for the light it may shed on Christian Palestine. The present study limits itself to the question of the Custos: his titles, election, rights, duties and privileges. The author gives us a full outline based on a thorough use of the sources which are referred to often and quoted generously. However, the presentation, as might be expected from the legal nature of the subject to which the author has limited himself, is rather dry. If the writer would discuss the matter in a modern language and treat it in a less scholastic, more lively manner, it would certainly have an appeal to the wide circle of readers interested in Palestine. There are some misprints which do not impair the meaning—*quae* for *qua* (p. 17, par. 2, l. 4); *recentoibus* for *recentibus* (p. 18, par. 2, l. 5); *alii* for *alii* (p. 31, par. 2, l. 7). More serious is the misprint where the text is impossible from the point of view of Latin—"et sibi alio Praelatis inobedientes, ac rebelles, committi sibi, quod. . ." (p. 34, l. 13).

◆ EDWARD P. ARBEZ, Montrond-les-Bains.

SYRIA: A SHORT HISTORY, by Philip K. Hitti.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959.
271 pages. \$4.50.

The master historian of the Arabs, who over the years has created in his books an almost incredibly detailed mosaic of Middle Eastern life, has here condensed his earlier *History of Syria Including Lebanon and Palestine*. The indispensability of that earlier volume to the serious student scarcely needs mentioning. The present condensation provides in brief compass a highly useful, factual, date-studded history of the area which today comprises Syria, Lebanon, Israel and part of Jordan. An excellent index, plus five maps, make this an extremely handy reference work.

This reviewer must express some disappointment with the finale of the book, dealing with

events since World War II. There is only vague mention of Soviet aid to Syria, rather than a concrete detailing of the hold the Soviet Union has obtained militarily and economically in Syria. The merger of Syria and Egypt in the United Arab Republic is treated uncritically with no hint that various pressures, including that exerted by the Ba'th Party, pushed President Nasir into union faster than he himself may have liked. And there is the unfortunate implication, undoubtedly to be corrected in later editions, that Shishakly fell from power in Syria in 1955 rather than in 1954.

But these are minor flaws to pick in a book whose primary purpose is to provide the serious reader with a systematic unfolding of Syrian history from prehistoric times to the present.

◆ HARRY B. ELLIS, Beirut, Lebanon.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

General

Documents of Asian Affairs—Select Bibliography, Vol. 1, 1957. Compiled by Urmila Phadnis and S. Dakshina Moorthy. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs Library, 1959. 76 pages.

Middle East in Crisis, by Fisher and Krinsky. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1959. 213 pages.

Arab World

A Political Study of the Arab-Jewish Conflict, The Arab Refugee Problem (A Case Study), by Rony E. Gabbay. Genève: Librairie Droz, 1959. 611 pages. An analysis of the basic components of the Arab-Jewish conflict, tracing its remote causes and describing its development since the establishment of Palestine as a political entity after the First World War.

Mā Hiya al-Qawmiyyah?, by Sati' al Husari. Beirut: Dar al-'Ilm lil Milayin, 1959. 256 pages.

Saudi Arabia, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture, by George Lipsky and others. New York: HRAF Press, 1959. 350 pages. \$7.00. A comprehensive study of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and a good reference for an understanding of world affairs in particular reference to the complex Middle Eastern political and economic scene.

North Africa

Algeria Before the United Nations, by Mohamad Alwan. New York: Robert Speller and Sons, Publishers, Inc., 1959. 121 pages. \$3.50. A timely, objective study on one of the most important issues before the world today. A thought provoking book based on thorough research and on-the-spot survey at the United Nations.

It points out the way towards a just and peaceful solution to the Algerian problem.

Problèmes d'édification du Maroc et du Maghreb, by Raymond Jean. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1959. 76 pages.

Pakistan

Basic Data of the Economy of Pakistan, by W. N. Beach, M. Uzair and G. W. Tucker. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. 225 pages, index to 235. \$4.00.

Constitutional Development in Pakistan, by G. E. Choudhury. New York: Longmans, 1959. 280 pages. \$3.75. An analysis of constitutional developments in Pakistan between 1947 and 1956 with insights into the new constitution between 1956 and 1958. Examines the reasons for the difficulties in creating a constitution for Pakistan.

Soviet Central Asia

Documents: Soviet Russia's Anti-Islam-Policy in Turkestan, Part II, Introduced and Collected by Dr. Baymirza Hayit. Düsseldorf: Forschungsdienst Osteuropa, 1959. 55 pages.

Turkey

Die Selschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi, by Herbert E. Duda. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959. 366 pages.

Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism, 1521-1555, by Stephen A. Fischer-Galati. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959. 168 pages. \$5.00. This lively history represents the first systematic investigation of the interrelation between the conflicting imperialism—Ottoman and Hapsburg—and the rise of Lutheranism in Germany.

Turkey: Origins of the Kemalist Movement and the Government of the National Assembly (1919-1923), by Elaine D. Smith. Privately printed, 1959. 175 pages, appendices and bibliography.

Turkey's Politics, The Transition to a Multi-Party System, by Kemal Karpat. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959. 342 pages. \$6.50. This is the first book in the English language that treats in full the economic, social, and cultural background of modern Turkey's political system.

History, Religion, and Philosophy

Islamic Law in the Modern World, by J.N.D. Anderson. New York: New York University Press, 1959. xx plus 106 pages. \$2.75.

Sandals at the Mosque, Christian Presence Amid Islam, by Kenneth Cragg. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. 160 pages. \$2.75.

The Life and Thought of Rumi, by Afzal Iqbal. Lahore: Basm-i-Iqbal, n. d.

The Quranic Sufism, by Dr. Mir Valiuddin. Delhi: Motilal Bamsrodass, 1959. 211 pages. Rs. 10/-

The Philosophy of Ibn Arabi, by Xavier de Planhol. New York: Cornell University Press, 1959. 126 pages.

Linguistics

The Classical Arabic Writing System, by Frank A. Rice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959. 48 pages.

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

A History of the Foundation of Israel and the Arab Jewish War, by Jon and David Kimche. New York: Praeger. Approximately 400 pages. \$5.75.

Gezira, A Story of Development in the Sudan, by Arthur Gaitskell. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd. 42s. This book deals with one of the outstanding problems today: how to increase the wealth of the so-called underdeveloped countries.

Jordan, by Henry James. New York: Grove Press, Inc., \$1.95. A complete geographical, economic and cultural survey.

Nasser's New Egypt: A Critical Analysis, by Keith Wheelock. New York: Praeger. Approximately 320 pages. Approximately \$6.00.

Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia, 1905-1920, by Serge Zenkovsky. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. \$6.50.

Passage Through Pakistan, by Orville F. Linck. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. About \$5.00.

The Afro-Asian States and Their Problems, by K. M. Panikkar. New York: John Day Co., \$3.00.

The Arabs in Israel, by Walter Schwarz. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd. 21s.

The Sinai Campaign 1956, by Edgar O'Ballance. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd. 25s. A day-to-day narrative of the events on the Sinai Peninsula during the campaign which began on October 29, 1956, "somewhat in the form of an enlarged and extended war diary."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Prepared by Sidney Glazer

With contributions from: Ernest Dawn, Richard Ettinghausen, Sidney Glazer, John A. Lazo, Louis A. Leopold, Bernard Lewis, M. Perlmann, C. Rabin, W. Sands.

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Muslim Spain, the Arab World, Ethiopia, and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of the Soviet Union, Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. An attempt is made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields. The ancient Near East and Byzantium are excluded; so also Zionism, Palestine, and Israel in view of the current, cumulative bibliography on this field: *Palestine and Zionism*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library, New York.

It would be appreciated if authors of articles appropriate to the Bibliography would send reprints or notices of such articles to: Bibliography Editor, The Middle East Journal, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

For list of periodicals reviewed, see page 483. For list of abbreviations, see page 486.

HISTORY (Ancient medieval)

11826 ARZRUNI, ASHOD. "Levon VI and an impostor." *Armenian Rev.* 12 (Jl '59) 71-7. Sidelights on the history of this last king of the Cilician dynasty who lost his throne as a result of defeat by the Turks in 1375. He was sent as a prisoner to Aleppo. He eventually came to live in Cairo then ruled by Sultan Malik Ashraf.

11827 BATSIYEVA, S. M. "The social foundations of Ibn Khaldūn's theories of history and philosophy." (in Russian) *Pamyati Akad. I. I. Krachkovskogo* (1958) 192-207. Ibn Khaldūn reflected the attitudes of the Andalusian faction in the patriciate of the Maghrib. The faction was opposed to merciless feudal exploitation based on force and favored the development of commodity circulation within the feudal framework.

11828 EHRENKREUTZ, ANDREW S. "Studies in the monetary history of the Near East in the Middle Ages." *J. Econ. and Soc. Hist. of the O. 2* (My '59) 128-61. The standard of fitness of some dinars.

11829 FROLOVA, O. B. "Ibn al-Athīr's source concerning the rule of the Sāmānids in Central Asia." (in Russian) *Pamyati Akad. I. I. Krachkovskogo* (1958) 36-43. Sellamī's *Ta'rikh walāi Khurāsān* was used by Gardīzī and independently by Ibn al-Athīr. This can be seen from the recently found pages of Sellamī's lost work. Ibn Miskawayh was another source.

11830 GABRIELI, F. "La 'politique arabe des Normands de Sicile." *Studia Islamica* no. 9 (1958) 83-86.

11831 IMAMUDDIN, S. M. "Hispano-Arab libraries, books and manuscripts." *J. Pakistan Hist.* 5 (Ap '59)

101-9. "Due to the conflict of ideas among different Muslim sects a considerable number of books were destroyed by the Muslims themselves, but there were still millions of books in the libraries of Granada when it was surrendered to the Christians."

11832 LEWICKI, T. "Les subdivisions de l'Ibādīyya." *Studia Islamica* no. 9 (1958) 71-82. This Khārijite sect counted numerous supporters in almost all the Muslim countries in early Islam, but it was far from being monolithic.

11833 MAKDISI, GEORGE. "Nouveaux détails sur l'affaire d'Ibn 'Aqīl." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1957) 91-126. An 11th cent. Ḥanbalite doctor's troubles attributable to dogmatic and pro-Ḥallāj positions.

11834 MIKLUKHO-MAKLAI, N. D. "Shī'ism and its special physiognomy in Iran at the turn of the 15th-16th century." (in Russian) *Pamyati Akad. I. I. Krachkovskogo* (1958) 221-34. Its victory was to a great extent a result of Safavid political pressure rather than a profound manifestation of the popular mood.

11835 NAJJAR, FAUZI M. "Al-Fārābī on political science." *Muslim World* 48 (Ap '58) 94-103.

11836 PEVZNER, S. B. "Iqlā' in Egypt toward the end of the 13th and in the 14th centuries." (in Russian) *Pamyati Akad. I. I. Krachkovskogo* (1958) 176-91. The "feudal" system in the Il-Khān empire, where nomads formed a substantial segment of the ruling class, was basically similar to that of Mamluk Egypt, a country that had not suffered from invasion. This refutes the prevalent view of bourgeois scholarship that the origins of oriental feudalism are to be traced to nomadism or to the Mongol invasion.

- 11837 PEYRUSHEVSKIY, I. P. "The feudal institutions of *idrar* and *mukasse* in 13th-14th cent. Iran." (in Russian) *Pamyati Akad. I. I. Kravkovskogo* (1958) 202-5. Analyzes these terms as found in the 14th cent. MS *Dastūr al-kātib*.
- 11838 SALIBI, K. S. "The Banū Jamā'a : a dynasty of Shāfi'ite jurists." *Studia Islamica* no. 9 (1958) 97-110. The Banū Jamā'ah gained fame within a generation of the rise of the Mamlukes. Concentrating on the law, the typical member was "a man of learning whose character conformed strictly to the accepted Moslem ideas of the gentleman-scholar."
- 11839 SOURDEL, DOMINIQUE. "Nouvelles recherches sur la deuxième partie du *Livre des vizirs* d'al-Gahli-yārī." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1957) 271-99. Enumerates 40 and reproduces 8 stories, most of them concerning 9th cent. events.
- 11840 STROYEVA, L. V. "The struggle between the nomadic and settled aristocracy of the Jagatai state in the first half of the 14th cent." (in Russian) *Pamyati Akad. I. I. Kravkovskogo* (1958) 206-20. This struggle led to the victory of decentralization and decay in the economy, which continued until Timur.
- 11841 TOGAN, ZEKI VELIDL. "Sur l'origine des Safavides." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1957) 345-57. The author defends an earlier contention that the Safavids were of Kurdish origin and weren't Alids at all. The arguments are based on the Persian MS *Şafwut al-safā*, written before the Safavid's rise to power.
- 11842 TRITTON, A. S. "Sidelights on Muslim history." *B.S.O.A.S.* 21, no. 3 (1958) 464-71. Chiefly on Saladin.
- 11843 WIET, GASTON. "Un décret du sultan mamlouk Malik Ashraf Sha'ban à la Mecque." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1957) 383-410. Text, translation, and commentary. The decree is preserved on 6 columns in Mecca, in the Hāram. It is the longest Mamluk decree on stone.
- HISTORY AND POLITICS
(Modern)
- 11844 "Azerbaydzhan." *C. A. Rev.* 7, no. 2 (1959) 131-8. An outline of the history of this Soviet republic.
- 11845 "Great Britain and Iraq: 1914-58." *Round Table* 195 (Je '59) 266-79. Background of the March 1959 revolt in Mosul. "The wisest policy of Great Britain in present circumstances would seem to be to avoid being drawn into the quarrel between two Arab states."
- 11846 "The Kurds of Transcaucasia and Persia." *C. A. Rev.* 7, no. 2 (1959) 163-201. Translation of recent Soviet materials, with comments by C. J. Edmonds.
- 11847 "The revolt in Transcaucasia—1918-1919." *C. A. Rev.* 7, no. 2 (1959) 117-30. An analysis of Soviet writings on the subject, particularly a collection of documents published by the Turkmen government.
- 11848 "Revolution in Iraq." *Arab World* 39 (Ap '59) 20-8. A discussion of this book by Caractacus in which Arnold Toynbee, M. G. Ionides, and others participated. Includes interesting comments on British behavior and policy in Iraq.
- 11849 "The Somalilands: problems of the horn of Africa." *Arab World* 39 (Ap '59) 7-13. Stresses Ethiopian views. The overriding problem, however, is economics. Outside assistance must continue if progress is to be sustained.
- 11850 "A year of republican Iraq." *World Today* 15 (Jl '59) 286-98. In the summer of 1959 Qasim remains as enigmatic as ever. The masses seem better off than before and labor and students are enjoying a prolonged holiday.
- 11851 ARABIAN, GREGORY. "An inquiry into the Turkish massacres of 1894-1897." *Armenian Rev.* 12 (Jl '59) 132-40. A study of international factors bearing on the events.
- 11852 AS-SAMMĀN, MUHAMMAD 'ABDULLĀH. "The principles of Islamic government." *Welt des Islams* 5, no. 3-4 (1958) 245-53. Translation—with interpretive introductory note—of a pamphlet published in Cairo in 1953 by a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. The ideas reflect the typical political attitudes of the urban, semi-literate Muslim masses.
- 11853 BERREBY, JEAN-JACQUES. "Nassérisme contre communisme au Moyen-Orient." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 46, no. 2 (1959) 3-9. Chiefly an analysis of the communist party in Iraq.
- 11854 BONNEFOUS, MARC. "L'empire du milieu." *Orient* 3, no. 10 (1959) 33-7. A generally optimistic picture of Persia today—with notes on French technical assistance and cultural programs. The main problems are agrarian reform and the feudal social structure.
- 11855 COLOMBE, MARCEL. "Egypt yesterday and today." *Mid. East. Af.* 10 (Ap '59) 134-50. A study of the attempts made by the Nasir régime to solve the country's chronic problems.
- 11856 COLOMBE, MARCEL. "Où va l'Irak?" *Orient* 3, no. 10 (1959) 11-8. The author reviews the major developments in the country since the Mosul affair in an effort to answer his own question.
- 11857 ELLIS, C. H. "The Transcaspiian episode." *R.C.A.J.* 46 (Ap '59) 106-18. A participant in the 1918-1919 British "side show" in Central Asia details the background of the events and accuses Soviet writers of deliberately exaggerating the episode into being part of a vast plan to make Turkestan a British colony.
- 11858 JARGY, SIMON. "La Syrie à la veille d'une nouvelle expérience." *Orient* 3, no. 10 (1959) 19-31. Discusses the problems posed by U.A.R. reorganization of administrative and political structures.
- 11859 "JÄSCHKE, GOTTHARD. "Auf dem Wege zur Türkischen Republik. Ein Beitrag zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Türkei." *Welt des Islams* 5, no. 3-4 (1958) 206-18. Analysis of source materials.
- 11860 JEAN-MARIE. "La réforme municipale . . . en Algérie." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 46, no. 2 (1959) 3108. Some developments in Algerian administration.
- 11861 KITCHEN, HELEN A. "The Sudan in transition." *Current Hist.* 37 (Jl '59) 35-40. "It will take time and quite possibly more pain before the Sudan forges

- itself into a nation and resolves . . . the contradictory pulls of African and Arab unity."
- 11862 LE TOURNEAU, ROGER. "La naissance du pouvoir Sa'dien vue par l'historien al-Zayyānī." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1959) 63-80. Text and translation of an excerpt.
- 11863 LEWIS, BERNARD. "Some reflections on the decline of the Ottoman empire." *Studia Islamica* no. 9 (1959) 111-27. An enumeration of the main political, economic, and cultural factors associated with the decline of Ottoman government, society, and civilization.
- 11864 MACLEAN, FITZROY. "My visit to Central Asia, 1958." *R.C.A.J.* 46 (Ap '59) 130-40. Central Asia is becoming increasingly Sovietized and the people are resisting the trend more feebly. Islam is not being persecuted. Observations based on a recent trip and one made 20 years ago.
- 11865 MACMICHAEL, HAROLD. "Egyptian-Sudanese relations." *Mid. East. Aff.* 10 (Mr '59) 102-8. One of the main reasons why the Egyptians have failed to achieve their objective in the Sudan lies in their failure to understand the Sudanese mentality.
- 11866 MACRO, ERIC. "The first British embassy to the Yemen." *Royal Air Force College J.* (Cranwell) 31 (Mr '59) 36-8. An account of the mission of Sir Home Popham in 1801.
- 11867 MANTRAN, ROBERT. "Un document sur l'histoire de Stamboul à la fin du XVIII^e siècle." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1957) 127-49. Text and translation of a valuable document on administration.
- 11868 MCKAY, VERNON. "A United States policy for the new Africa." *Current Hist.* 37 (Jl '59) 1-6. The policy must be geared to the expected "neutrality with a western orientation."
- 11869 MINGANTI, PAOLO. "I partiti politici libanesi nel 1958 secondo i risultati di una recente inchiesta." *Oriente Mod.* 39 (My '59) 527-37. A résumé of a series of articles published in two Beirut newspapers containing data on the history, leadership, organization, and ideology of the various political parties.
- 11870 NASSER, GAMAL ABDEL. "Where I stand and why." *Life* 47 (Jl 20 '59) 96 ff. President Nasir's justification for the three faces he has presented to the world—pro-West, pro-East and pro-Arab.
- 11871 NAJJAR, FAUZI M. "Islam and modern democracy." *Rev. of Pol.* (South Bend, Indiana) 20 (Ap '58) 164-80.
- 11872 NEREVAN. "Notes sur la presse kurde d'Irak." *Orient* 3, no. 10 (1959) 139-47. The most important development in recent years is the appearance of a Kurdish political press on the heels of the July 1958 revolution. This press is serving to crystallize some trends in the evolution of Kurdistan.
- 11873 PERLMANN, M. "Nasser by the rivers of Babylon." *Mid. East. Aff.* 10 (Ap '59) 151-6. A review of Middle East events during the first quarter of 1959.
- 11874 RIVLIN, BENJAMIN. "Towards political maturity in Morocco." *Current Hist.* 37 (Jl '59) 23-9. Although the record is "more of declarations of intent than positive achievement," there are indications of growing maturity.
- 11875 RONDOT, PIERRE. "Quelques aspects de l'affaire de Mossoul." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 46, no. 2 (1959) 39-43. The author regards the March 1959 revolt in Mosul as a major event in modern Near Eastern history which, among other effects, struck a deadly blow at the prestige and power of Nasir.
- 11876 RONDOT, PIERRE. "Quelques opinions sur les relations arabo-kurdes dans la République irakienne." *Orient* 3, no. 10 (1959) 51-8. Includes a detailed analysis of a recent Arabic publication (February 1959) *The Kurds and the Kurdish Question*, by Dr. Shakir Khosbak, an Iraqi scholar of Kurdish origin.
- 11877 SARAFIAN, VAHE A. "The formation of the Armenian independent republic, I." *Armenian Rev.* 12 (Jl '59) 106-20. The history of the Armenian independent republic (1918-1921) did not begin in 1918, but was a logical development of many earlier events.
- 11878 SERJAS, JEAN. "Mauritanie et Maroc." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 45, no. 2 (1959) 11-21. A study of the influences—Moroccan and French—engaged in the struggle for the young "Islamic republic of Mauritania."
- 11879 SHEPHERD, GEORGE W. "Tunisia and Arab nationalism." *Current Hist.* 37 (Jl '59) 30-4. Describes the plight of Tunisia caught between the desire for western economic assistance and the pressures of the Algerian war.
- 11880 TARN, PIERRE. "Une année difficile pour le Maroc." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 45, no. 2 (1959) 27-36. A review of 1958.
- 11881 TROYTSKAYA, A. L. "Archive of the 19th century Kokand khans." (in Russian) *Trudy, Gos. Publ. Bibl., Leningrad* 2, no. 5 (1957) 185-209. A survey of materials deposited in the Leningrad Public Library. There are over 5000 documents (mostly from the years 1866-1875) dealing with various social and economic affairs. Facsimiles.
- 11882 VILLARD, HENRY SERRANO. "Libya. Experiment in independence." *Current Hist.* 37 (Jl '59) 7-12. The former U.S. Minister to Libya traces developments from 1943 to the present.
- 11883 WHEELER, G. E. "Russia and the Middle East." *Internat. Aff.* 35 (Jl '59). An informative survey of the trends of Soviet policy whose flexibility is often the result of vacillation rather than of foresight. (See also: 11889, 11890, 11893, 11907, 11942, 11956)

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(General, finance, commerce, agriculture, natural resources)

- 11884 "Consumer goods in Central Asia." *C. A. Rev.* 7, no. 2 (1959) 145-52. Sales organization, supply and demand, availability and quality of goods. Material derived from the daily Central Asian press.
- 11885 "The first Arab petroleum congress." *World Today* 15 (Je '59) 246-53. Despite the atmosphere of ten-

- sion in which it opened, the congress concentrated on technical and educational problems.
- 11886 AGRICOLA. "Vers une nouvelle réforme foncière en Algérie." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 46, no. 2 (1959) 44-8. Discussion of a regulation promulgated in January 1959.
- 11887 AL-'ARABY, MUHAMMAD 'ABDULLAH. "Economics in the social structure of Islam." *Islamic Rev.* 47 (Je '59) 5-11. An appraisal of Islamic and western economic institutions.
- 11888 BALDWIN, GEORGE B. "Labor problems in a developing economy." *Current Hist.* 57 (Ag '59) 91-5. Persia is used as an example of the differences and similarity in labor problems between advanced and developing countries.
- 11889 HARBISON, FREDERICK. "Two centers of Arab power." *For. Aff.* 37 (Jl '59) 672-83. Contrasts the problems of economic development in Iraq and Egypt and the implications both for Arab politics and for the world power struggle.
- 11890 KORNIYENKO, R. P. "On the history of the labor movement in Turkey." (in Russian) *Prob. Vostoka* 2 (1959) 121-7. The year 1922-1923 witnessed a great surge of labor that greatly stimulated class consciousness. Mass strikes after the treaty of Lausanne led to concessions from employers and the government.
- 11891 MIETTE, R. "L'avenir de la culture du blé dans le département de l'Aurès." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 45, no. 2 (1959) 40-3.
- 11892 ROSSI, PIERRE. "Pour une industrialisation de l'Irak." *Orient* 3, no. 10 (1959) 59-78. An analysis of the potentials and obstacles.
- 11893 SOUSTELLE, JACQUES. "The wealth of the Sahara." *For. Aff.* 37 (Jl '59) 626-36. How modern techniques have transformed the natural desert barrier into an economic and social link between Europe and Africa. (See also: 11828)
- SOCIAL CONDITIONS**
(General, population and ethnology, medicine and health, education, religion and law)
- 11894 "The peoples of Central Asia—the survival of religion." *C. A. Rev.* 7, no. 2 (1959) 109-6. Suggests that propaganda and education may have weakened the faith of most Muslims in Central Asia, but not that of the "unorthodox fringe."
- 11895 ANDERSON, J. N. D. "The family law of Turkish Cypriots." *Welt des Islams* 5, no. 3-4 (1958) 161-87. Based on the Turkish Civil Code and its Swiss model, the provisions depart radically from the *shari'ah*, yet "pay some deference to the religion of Islam."
- 11896 BOURLON, ABEL. "Actualité des Mourides et du Mouridisme." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 46, no. 2 (1959) 10-30. A history of these marabouts founded in 1886 by Amadou Bamba. The center is now in Touba.
- 11897 BOUSQUET, G. H. "Des animaux et de leur traitement selon le Judaïsme, le Christianisme et l'Islam." *Studia Islamica* no. 9 (1958) 31-48. A theological study, chiefly on the basis of scriptures, with some comments on actual practice.
- 11898 BRUNSCHVIG, R. "De la filiation maternelle en droit musulman." *Studia Islamica* no. 9 (1958) 49-60. The subject is important not only to jurists but to all interested in the family in classical Islamic times.
- 11899 DE BEAURECUEUIL, S. "Vocation spirituelle et monde d'aujourd'hui." *I.B.L.A.* 22, no. 2 (1959) 147-55. The main religious tendencies of the past half century and their effect on sufism.
- 11900 DEMEERSEMAN, A. "A la recherche de la personnalité de la Tunisie." *I.B.L.A.* 22, nos. 1, 2 (1959) 1-28, 129-46. Bases this extended psychological study not on *cet homme qui est un Tunisien* but on *ce Tunisien qui est un homme*. The three major traits delineated are: stability, adaptability, and complexity.
- 11901 DODGE, BAYARD. "Al Azhar: the world's oldest existing university." *Islamic Rev.* 47 (Je '59) 25-30. Some high lights of the history of this thousand year old institution.
- 11902 FYZEE, A. A. A. "The Fatimid law of inheritance." *Studia Islamica* no. 9 (1958) 61-70. Drawn from the *Da'aimu al-Islam* by Qāḍī Nu'mān b. Muḥammad, an important Fatimid legal scholar.
- 11903 LELONG, MICHEL. "Civilisation méditerranéenne d'aujourd'hui." *I.B.L.A.* 22, no. 1 (1959) 55-71. Is there a Mediterranean civilization? What are the prospects of a new Mediterranean civilization?
- 11904 LELONG, MICHEL. "Scolarisation et corps enseignant." *I.B.L.A.* 22, no. 2 (1959) 205-15. An analysis of the teacher training facilities available to cope with the problems resulting from an extraordinary and continuing increase in population.
- 11905 MAGNIN, J. G. "Les 'enfants de Bourguiba' grandissent dans leurs villages." *I.B.L.A.* 22, no. 1 (1959) 73-93. An appraisal of a new approach to the problem of abandoned children.
- 11906 MONTEIL, VINCENT. "De la Perse à l'Iran." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1957) 161-84. Observations made on a "spiritual" journey in 1950-2 dealing with beliefs and customs.
- 11907 NOLTE, RICHARD H. "The rule of law in the Arab Middle East." *Muslim World* 48 (O '58) 295-307. Traces the role of the *shari'ah* from classical times to the present, concluding that "law in the countries of the Middle East has become largely the unchecked instrument of the state."
- 11908 PRITSCH, ERICH. "Das tunesische Personenstands-gesetz." *Welt des Islams* 5, no. 3-4 (1958) 188-205. Analysis of the January 1957 *Majallat al-ahkām al-shakhsīyah*.
- 11909 RODINSON, MAXIME. "Autobiographies de possédées égyptiennes." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1957) 259-69. Text and translation of notes by a follower of *zār*, a kind of voodoo rite practised in Egypt. The text is also of linguistic interest.
- 11910 SUTER, KARL. "Schulreformen im Mzab." *Welt des Islams* 5, no. 3-4 (1958) 235-44. First hand observations.
- 11911 SUTER, KARL. "Ueber Wesen und Sinn des

Hobus und Verwandter Institutionen im Mzab." *Asiat. Studien* 1-2 (1957-1958). A Study of this waqf-like legal institution among the Berber Mozabites who belong to the Ibādite sect, a branch of the Khārijites.

(See also: 11846, 11944)

SCIENCE QUR'ĀNIC STUDIES, TRADITION, PHILOSOPHY

- 11912 BIRKELAND, H. "The interpretation of Surah 107." *Studia Islamica* no. 9 (1958) 13-30. An analysis of the numerous Muslim "traditions" concerning this surah led the author to conclude that "the Muslim interpretation has failed in its attempt at understanding the Surah as a totality."
- 11913 BISHOP, ERIC F. F. "The Qumrān scrolls and the Qur'ān." *Muslim World* 48 (Jl '58) 223-36. An initial search for comparisons and affinities, not for Qur'ānic borrowings.
- 11914 DANIEL, NORMAN. "Holy War in Islam and Christendom." *Blackfriars* XXXIX, no. 462 (Sep '58) 383-391. A highly perceptive review-article on M. Khadduri's *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*.
- 11915 DAVID-WEILL, JEAN. "Une page de traditions sur papyrus du III^e siècle de l'hégire." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1957) 375-81. From the Louvre collection.
- 11916 DODGE, BAYARD. "The international Islamic colloquium: 1958." *Muslim World* 48 (Jl '58) 192-204. Summarizes without comment the main themes of several papers presented at the Lahore conference.
- 11917 HOURANI, GEORGE F. "Al-Ghazālī and the philosophers on the origin of the world, I, II." *Muslim World* 48 (Jl '58) 183-91, 308-14. Summary of and comments on "one of the central texts of Islamic philosophy."
- 11918 LAOUST, HENRI. "Les premières professions de foi Hanbalites." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1957) 7-35.
- 11919 PARET, RUDI. "Des islamische Colloquium in Lahore (29. Dezember 1957-8. Januar 1958)." *Welt des Islams* 5, no. 3-4 (1958) 228-34. An interesting account of some of the problems with which the participants had to contend.
- 11920 SCHIMMEL, ANNEMARIE. "The origin and development of sufism." *J. Pakistan Hist.* 5, 7 (Ap '59) 55-67. All the important ideas of early sufism can be found in the Qur'ān.
- 11921 STARKOVA, K. B. "A MS of Ibn Sina's *Canon of Medicine* in the Leningrad State Public Library." (in Russian) *Trudy, Gos. Publ. Bibl., Leningrad* 2, no. 5 (1957) 39-53. Written in Hebrew characters; glosses in Italian.
- 11922 STRAUSS, LEO. "How Fārābī read Plato's laws." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1957) 319-44. "We admire the ease with which Fārābī invented Platonic speeches."
- 11923 VAJDA, GEORGES. "Une synthèse peu connue de la révélation de la philosophie." *Mélanges Louis*

Massignon, III (1957) 359-74. The *Kanz al-'ulum* of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Tūmart al-Andalusī.

- 11924 WOLFSON, HARRY A. "Philosophical implications of the problem of divine attributes in the Kalam." *J.A.O.S.* 79 (Ap - Je '59) 73-80.

(See also: 11897)

LANGUAGE

- 11925 IVANOV, S. N. "Past perfective in modern Uzbek." (in Russian) *Pamyati Akad. I. I. Krachkovskogo* (1958) 123-38.
- 11926 MENGES, KARL H. "Some remarks on Oyrat morphology." *B.S.O.A.S.* 21, no. 3 (1958) 491-521. Summarizes recent materials by Simpson, Dyrenkova, and Baskakov on this Turkic language of Siberia.
- 11927 MONTEIL, VINCENT. "Le C.E.P.A.M. de Bikfaya." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 45, no. 2 (1959) 22-6. A description of this French school in Lebanon that aims at providing training in modern Arabic (Centre d'Enseignement Pratique de l'Arabe Moderne) now directed by the author.
- 11928 SIMPSON, C. G. "Recent changes in the orthography of the Soviet Azerbaydzhan language." *C.A. Rev.* 7, no. 2 (1959) 139-44. As a result of modifications officially decreed on January 1, 1959 the alphabet now lacks 8 of the 32 letters of the Russian alphabet, further increasing the difference in appearance between Azerbaijani and its Turkic neighbors.
- 11929 SOURDEL-THOMINE, JANINE. "Le coufique alépin de l'époque seljoukide." *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III (1957) 301-17.
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- Ars Orientalis (formerly Ars Islamica). *irreg* Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 25, D. C.
- Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly. \$1. *q* The Art Institute, Adams St. at Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Artibus Asiae. Sw. fr. 50, \$12; single issue \$3.50. *q* Prof. Alfred Salmony, Institute of Fine Arts, New York Univ., 17 E. 80th St., New York, N. Y.
- Asiatische Studien. Sw. fr. 18 *q* A. Francke, A. G. Verlag, Bern, Switzerland.
- Belleten. *q* Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, Turkey.
- Biblioteca Orientalis. \$9.50; single issue \$2. *bi-m* Dr. A. A. Kampman, ed., Noordeindeplein 4a, Leiden, The Netherlands.
- British Museum Quarterly. £1; single issue 5s 3d. *q* Trustees of the British Museum, Gt. Russell St. London, W.C.1.
- Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis. \$2, \$3 for two years; single issue 40¢, foreign, 75¢. *q* City Art Museum of St. Louis, Forest Park, St. Louis 5, Mo.
- Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art. \$3; single issue 35¢. *m* (10 issues per ann) Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland 6, Ohio.
- Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts. 80¢; single issue 25¢. *q* Detroit Institute of Arts, 5200 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich.
- Bulletin des Etudes Arabes. *bi-m* 175 Chemin du Telemly, Algiers, Algeria.
- Bulletin de l'Institut du Desert Egyptien. By exchange or request. *semi-ann* M. Mirwally, Sec. Gen. de l'Institut du Desert Égyptien, Blvd. Sultan Hussein, Héliopolis, Egypt.
- Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. £1 11s; single issue 15s 6d. *semi-ann* University Press, 316-324 Oxford Road, Manchester 13, England.
- Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts. \$1; single issue 25¢. *q* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 15, Mass.
- Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. £1 10s. 3 issues per year School of Oriental & African Studies, Univ. of London, London, W.C.1; agent: Luzac & Co., 46 Gt. Russell St., London, W.C.1.
- Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery. \$1; single issue at Museum 10¢. *m* (Oct-May) Walters Art Gallery, Charles & Centre Sts., Baltimore 1, Md.
- Burlington Magazine. UK, £3; foreign, \$10; single issue 5s, \$1. *m* Burlington Magazine, Lt., 12 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.
- Cahiers de Tunisie (formerly Revue Tunisienne). 1000 fr; foreign, 1200 fr; single issue 400 fr. *q*

- L'Institut des Hautes Études de Tunisie, 2 rue de Souk-Ahras, Tunis, Tunisia.
- The Caucasian Review. Institute for the Study of the USSR. Mannhardtstrasse, 6, Munich 22, Germany.
- Central Asian Review. 30s; single issue 7s 6d. *q* Geoffrey Wheeler and David Footman, eds. 66 King's Road, London, S.W. 3.
- Commentary. U.S., \$5; foreign, \$6; single issue 50¢. *m* American Jewish Committee, 34 W. 33rd St., New York 1, N. Y.
- Current History. U.S., \$6; Can., \$6.25; elsewhere, \$6.50; single issue 50¢. *m* Events Publ. Co., 108-10 Walnut St., Philadelphia 6, Pa.
- L'Égypte Contemporaine. Egypt, £E 1.50; foreign, £1 14s; single issue £E 40, 9s. *q* Boite Postale 732, Cairo.
- L'Égypte Industrielle. Egypt, £E 1; foreign, £1 10s; single issue £E .15, 15s. *m* La Fédération Égyptienne de l'Industrie, Mahmoud Bayram, ed., 26a rue Cherif Pacha, Cairo.
- Ethnos. Swed. cr. 15; single issue Swed. cr. 4. *q* Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm Ö, Sweden.
- Faenza. Italy, lire 1000; foreign, lire 1500; single issue lire 200, lire 300. *semi-ann* Direzione del Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche, Faenza, Italy.
- Foreign Affairs. \$6; single issue \$1.50. *q* Council on Foreign Relations, 58 E. 68th St., New York 21, N. Y.
- Geographical Journal. £1 16s; single issue 8s 6d. *q* Royal Geographical Society, 1 Kensington Gore, London, S.W.7; agent: John Murray (Publ.), Ltd., 50 Albemarle St., London, W.1.
- Geographical Review. \$7.50; single issue \$2. *q* American Geographical Society, Broadway at 156th St., New York 32, N. Y.
- Hamizrah Hehadash. Israel, £1 4; foreign \$6; single issue £1, \$1.25. *q* Israel Oriental Society, Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem, Israel.
- Héspéris. 2600 fr; single issue 1300 fr. *semi-ann* Secrétariat des Publications, Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines, Rabat, Morocco; agent: Librairie Larose, 11 rue Victor-Cousin, Paris 5e.
- IBLA. Tunisia and France, 850 fr; foreign, 1000 fr; single issue 215 fr, 250 fr. *q* Institut des Belles-Lettres, 12 rue Jamaa el Haoua, Tunis, Tunisia.
- Ilahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi. Faculty of Divinity, Ankara Univ., Cebeci, Ankara, Turkey.
- Illustrated London News. UK, £5 18s 6d; U.S., (British Edition) \$18, (American Edition) \$16.50; single issue 3s, 35¢. *w* 1 New Oxford St., London, W.C.1; agent: International News Company, 131 Varick St., New York 13, N. Y.
- International Affairs. UK, £1 5s; U.S., \$5; single issue 6s 6d, \$1.25. *q* Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, St. James's Square, London, S.W.1; 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N. Y.
- International Social Science Bulletin. \$3.50; single issue \$1. *q* UNESCO, 19 avenue Kleber, Paris 16e; U.S. agent: Columbia Univ. Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27.
- Iraq. £1 11s; single issue 18s. *semi-ann* British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 20 Wilton St., London, S.W.1.
- Isis. \$7.50; single issue \$1.90. *q* History of Science Society, 1. Bernard Cohen, ed., Widener Library 189, Cambridge 38, Mass.
- Der Islam. DMW 28; single issue DMW 10. 3 issues per year. Schriftleitung des Islams, Prof. Dr. R. Strothmann & Prof. Dr. B. Spuler, ed., Bornplatz 2, Hamburg 13, Germany; agent: Walter de Gruyter & Co., Genthiner Str. 13, Berlin W5 (U.S. Sector).
- Islamic Culture. Sterling area, £1 10s; elsewhere, \$6; single issue 7s 6d, \$1.50. *q* Islamic Culture Board, POB 171, Hyderabad, India.
- Islamic Literature. Pakistan, P.Rs. 10/-; foreign, \$3.50; single issue Pakistan, P.R. 1/-; foreign 30¢. *m* Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, Pakistan; agent: Orientalia, Inc., 11 E. 12th St., New York 3, N. Y.
- Islamic Quarterly. 30s; single issue 7s 6d. *q* Th. Islamic Cultural Centre, Regent's Lodge, 146 Park Rd., London, N.W.8.
- Islamic Review. UK, £1 5s; U.S., \$3.75; single issue 2s 6d, 37¢. *m* Woking Muslim Mission & Literary Trust, Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England; Moslem Society of USA, 870 Castro St., San Francisco, Calif.; The International Muslim Society, Inc., POB 37, Manhattanville, Station J, New York 27, N. Y.
- Izvestiya Akademii Nauk—Otdeleniye Literaturi i Yazyka.* \$4.50 or £1 10s; single issue 90¢, 6s plus postage. *bi-m* Moscow, USSR.
- Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen. DMW 24. *ann* Publ.: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co. Verlag, Fontenay 4, Hamburg 36, Germany.
- Jewish Quarterly Review. \$6. *q* The Dropsie College, Broad & York Sts., Philadelphia 32, Pa.
- Journal of the American Oriental Society. \$8; libraries, \$7; single issue \$2. *q* American Oriental Society, 329 Sterling Memorial Library, New Haven, Conn.
- Journal Asiatique. *q* Société Asiatique, 1 rue de Seine, Paris 6e.
- Journal of Modern History. \$7.50; single issue \$2.25. *q* Univ. of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.
- Journal of Near Eastern Studies. \$6 in U.S. and Pan American Postal Union; postage added outside PanAm Postal Union; single issue \$1.75. *q* Dept. of Oriental Languages and Literatures, Univ.

* Agents in the U.S. for Russian publications: Four Continent Book Corporation, 38 W. 58th St., New York 19, N. Y.; Universal Distributors, 52-54 W. 13th St., New York 11, N. Y.

- of Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.
- Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.** Rs. 10/- (Pakistan); single issue Rs. 3/- (Pakistan). *q* Pakistan Historical Society, 2/45 Jacob Lines, Karachi, Pakistan.
- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.** £2 8s; single issue £1 10s. *semi-ann* Royal Asiatic Society, 56 Queen Anne St., London, W.1.
- Journal of World History.** See *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*.
- Kirjath Sepher.** \$5; single issue \$1.25. *q* Jewish National and Univ. Library, POB 503, Jerusalem, Israel.
- al-Kulliya.** £E .20; single issue £E .10. *semi-ann* Khartoum Univ. College, Khartoum, Sudan.
- al-Machriq.** Lebanon and Syria, £L 25; foreign, \$9; single issue £L 4.50, \$2. *bi-m* Fr. I-Abdo Khalife, S.J., Univ. Saint Joseph, Beirut, Lebanon.
- Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi.** £S 10. *q* Damascus, Syria.
- Man.** £1 10s; single issue 2s 6d. *m* Royal Anthropological Institute, 21 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.
- Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph.** *irreg.* Univ. Saint Joseph, Beirut, Lebanon; agent: Librairie Orientale, Place de l'Étoile, Beirut, Lebanon.
- Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin.** Free to mbrs.; subscr. \$5; single issue 50¢. *m* (Oct-June) *q* (July-Sept) Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. at 82nd St., New York 28, N. Y.
- Middle East Forum.** Lebanon and Syria, £L 10; Egypt £E 1.25; other Middle East countries, £L 11 or equivalent; elsewhere, \$5 or equivalent. *m* Alumni Office, American University of Beirut, Lebanon; U.S. agent: Helen Braun, Rm. 521, 40 Worth St., New York.
- Middle East Journal.** Free to mbrs.; subscr. \$6; single issue \$1.50. *q* Middle East Institute, 1761 N St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
- Middle Eastern Affairs.** \$5—foreign and domestic; single issue—50¢, double issue—\$1. *m* (10 issues *per ann*) Council for Middle Eastern Affairs, 432 4th Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
- Le Muséon.** 300 Belg. fr. 2 double vols. *per year* Le Muséon, 9 Ave. des Hêtres, Héverlé-Louvain, Belgium.
- Muslim World.** \$3; single issue 75¢. *q* Dr. Kenneth Cragg, ed., Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford 5, Conn.
- National Geographic Magazine.** \$6.50; foreign, \$7.75; single issue 65¢, 75¢. *m* National Geographic Society, 16th & M Sts., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
- New Times.*** \$3.50 or 14s; single issue 10¢, 4d plus postage. *w* Moscow, USSR.
- Oriens.** TL15; \$5. *semi-ann* Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research, c/o E. J. Brill, Oude Rijn 33a, Leiden, The Netherlands; agent for U.S. & Can.: Prof. Dr. Eberhard, 604 Panoramic Way, Berkeley, Calif.
- Orient.** *q* ed. Marcel Colombe, 114 Champs Elysées, Paris VIII.
- Orientalische Literatur Zeitung.** *q* J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, Scherlstr. 2, (10B) Leipzig, C1, Germany.
- Oriente Moderno.** \$8. *m* Istituto per l'Oriente, Viale Davide Lubin 2, Rome.
- Palestine Exploration Quarterly.** £1 1s. *semi-ann* Palestine Exploration Fund, 2 Hinde St., Manchester Square, London, W.1.
- Politique Etrangère.** 1800 fr; foreign, 2250 fr; single issue 330 fr. *bi-m* Centre d'Études de Politique Étrangère, 54 rue de Varenne, Paris 7e.
- Proceedings Royal Society of Historical Studies.** *irreg* 18 Ave. du Baron Empain, Héliopolis, Egypt.
- Revue du Caire.** Egypt, £E 2.25; foreign, 2000 fr; single issue £E .20, 200 fr. *m* 3 rue Dr. Ahmed Hamid Said, Cairo; Les Éditions des Cahiers du Sud, 28 rue du Four, Paris 6e.
- Revue Egyptienne de Droit International.** Egypt, £E 1; foreign, £E 1.25. *ann* Société Égyptienne de Droit International, 16 Ave. el-Malika, Cairo.
- Revue des Etudes Islamiques.** 12 rue Vavin, Paris 6e.
- Revue Historique.** France, 1500 fr; foreign, 1750 fr; single issue 450 fr. *q* Prof. Pierre Renouvin, ed., 7 Place de la Sorbonne, Paris 5e; Presses Universitaires de France, 108 Blvd. Saint-Germain, Paris 6e.
- Rivista degli Studi Orientali.** Lire 3000. *q* Istituto di Studi Orientali, Univ. di Roma, Roma.
- Rocznik Orientalni.** Warsaw, Poland.
- Round Table.** UK, £1 10s; foreign, \$5; single issue 7s 6d, \$1.25. *q* 15 Ormond Yard, Duke of York St., London, S.W.1.
- Royal Central Asian Journal.** £1 5s; single issue 7s 6d, July/Oct double number 9s 6d, plus postage. *q* Royal Central Asian Society, 2 Hinde St., Manchester Square, London, W.1.
- Saeculum (Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte).** DMW 24; single issue DMW 7. *q* Verlag Karl Alber, Johannerstr. 4, Freiburg/Breisgau; V. Karl Alber, Freiburg-München, Germany.
- Sovetskaia Etnografia.*** \$7.50 or £1 10s; single issue \$2.10, 8s 6d plus postage. *q* Moscow, USSR.
- Speculum.** Free to mbrs.; subscr. \$7. *q* Mediaeval Academy of America, 1430 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge 38, Mass.
- Studia Islamica.** Single issue, 650 fr. *semi-ann* Editions Larose, 11 rue Victor-Cousin, Paris 5e.
- Sudan Notes & Records (incorporating Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of the Sudan).** Sudan and Egypt, £E .75; foreign, 18s; single issue £E .40, 9s. *semi-ann* G. N. Sanderson, ed., POB 555, Khartoum, Sudan; agent: Luzac & Co., Ltd., 46 Gt. Russell St., London, W.C.1.
- Sumer (Journal of Archaeology in Iraq).** Iraq, £1 1; foreign, £1 10s; single issue 10s, 15s. *semi-ann* Directorate General of Antiquities, Baghdad, Iraq.
- Tamuda.** Spain & Span. Morocco, 100 ptas; foreign,

- \$4; single issue 60 ptas., \$2.50. *semi-ann* Delegación de Educación y Cultura, Tetuan, Spanish Morocco.
- Tarbiz. \$5. *q* Magnes Press, Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem, Israel.
- U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings. \$5; foreign, \$6; single issue 50¢. *m* Cdr. Roy de S. Horn, ed., U.S. Naval Institute, Annapolis, Md.
- Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher. DMW 40; single issue DMW 20. *semi-ann* Prof. Julius von Farkas, ed., Hospitalstr. 10, Göttingen; Publ.: Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, Germany.
- Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR.* \$8 or £2; single issue 80¢, 4s plus postage. *m* Moscow, USSR.
- Vestnik Drevnei Istorii.* \$8 or £2; single issue \$2, 12s plus postage. *q* Moscow, USSR.
- Voprosy Istorii.* \$5; single issue 50¢ plus postage. *m* Moscow, USSR.
- Die Welt des Islams. Gld. 25; \$6.60. *q* Prof. G. Jäschke, ed., (21a) Munster (Westf.), Hüfferstr. 69, Germany; Publ.: E. J. Brill, Oude Rijn 33a, Leiden, The Netherlands.
- Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. *irreg* Orientalisches Institut der Universität Wien, Hanuschgasse 3/II, Vienna I, Austria.
- World Today. UK, £1 5s; U.S., \$5; single issue 2s, 45¢. *m* Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, St. James's Square, London, S.W.1; 345 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y.
- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. *semi-ann* Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner GMBH, Wiesbaden, Germany.

ABBREVIATIONS

- | | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------|
| A., Asian, Asiatic, asiatique | Mag., Magazine | Univ., University, université |
| Acad., Academy | Mid., Middle | Z., Zeitschrift, Zeitung |
| Aff., Affairs, affaires | Mod., Modern, moderno, etc. | |
| Afr., African, Afrique, etc. | Mus., Museum, musée | Arabic |
| Amer., American | Natl., National | K., Kitab, etc. |
| Archeol., Archaeological, archéologique | Nr., Near | Maj., Majallah, etc. |
| B., Bulletin | Numis., Numismatic, numismatique | Russian, Polish, etc. |
| C., Central | O., Oriental, oriente, etc. | |
| Cent., Century | Pal., Palestine | Akad., Akademii |
| Contemp., Contemporary, etc. | Phil., Philosophical | Fil., Filosofi |
| Cult., Culture | Philol., Philological, Philologique | Inst., Institut |
| D., Deutsch | Polit., Political, Politique | Ist., Istorii |
| Dept., Department | Proceed., Proceedings | Izvest., Izvestia |
| East., Eastern | Quart., Quarterly | Lit., Literaturi |
| Econ., Economic, économique | R., Royal | Orient., Orientalni |
| For., Foreign | Res., Research | Ser., Seriya |
| G., Gesellschaft | Rev., Review, revue | Sov., Sovetskoye |
| Geog., Geographical, géographique, etc. | Riv., Rivista | Uchon., Uchoniye |
| Gt. Brit., Great Britain | S., School | Vostok., Vostokovedenia |
| Hist., Historical, historique, etc. | Soc., Society, société | Yaz., Yazika |
| Illust., Illustrated | Stud., Studies | Zap., Zapiski |
| Inst., Institute | Trans., Transactions | |
| Internat., International | U.S., United States | Turkish |
| J., Journal | USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics | Fak., Fakülte |
| L., Literature, etc. | | Univ., Üniversite |
| M., Morgenländisch, etc. | | |

Readers' Commentary

The Journal welcomes comment from its readers. All communications should be addressed to the Editor and bear the full name and address of the writer. A selection of those received will be published periodically in this column, preference being given to those which correct errors of fact, offer constructive criticism of an opinion expressed, or provide additional information on a topic discussed in the Journal's pages.

Dear Sir:

I can assure Dr Kirk [see Readers' Commentary, *MEJ*, Summer, 1959] that I am only interested in ascertaining and stating the facts, however unpleasant some facts may be to some people. And one such fact is that the independence of Oman in relation to the Sultan of Masqat was established by the treaty of Sib as long ago as 1920. It would never have been called in question but for the desire of the British Government to stake a claim on such oil as there may be in Oman.

Another fact is that Buraimi has been under Sa'udi occupation for just about 160 years, since its people adopted the Wahhabi faith and vowed allegiance to Sa'ud the Second. It has only been interrupted during two periods when the Sa'udi dynasty itself was in eclipse. Dr Kirk should study the admirable volumes on the history of the area prepared by American experts.

There was therefore no question of a military occupation of Buraimi in 1952, though Ibn Sa'ud was constrained to post a garrison there to prevent unauthorised trespass on an area in which he had assigned all oil rights to an American company.

As for the 8000 protesting Omanis at 'Ibri, and the £30 million bribe offered by Ibn Sa'ud to the Shaikh of Abu-Dhabi, and the Queen of Sheba's army of twelve hundred million men-at-arms: these are not facts but myths, and they do not interest me, except as such.

Of course it is a fact, and a very creditable one, that Sa'udi Arabia and Egypt supplied the Imam of Oman with arms and money, with which to defend his independence. It is equally

a fact that the British Government supplied the Sultan of Masqat, not only with arms and money, but with the operational help of the British Armed Forces in Arabia! Its motive was to keep the oil, if any, under British control, like the Masqat government itself, whose independence was recognised by the United States something like 130 years ago.

So let the facts speak for themselves. If Dr Kirk thinks I am anti-British, the Arabs at least pay me the compliment of believing that I am a British Secret Service agent! And both are wrong.

H. ST. JOHN B. PHILBY
Taif, Saudi Arabia

Dear Sir:

We were most pleased to find in the Spring 1959 issue of the Journal a translation of the Constitution of the Ba'th Party. More of this type of document should, without question, be translated and published.

In reading the present translation, however, we were—as the translator professes to be—somewhat mystified by certain of its provisions. A subsequent examination of the Arabic text* revealed certain inaccuracies in the published translation which tend to distort the meaning of the original document.

We feel obliged to bring to your attention a number of errors which materially affect the sense of the document, omitting those of a minor or purely stylistic character.

*Hizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabi, *Dustūr Hizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabi*, Damascus, 1947. Also, *Hizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabi al-Ish-tiraki*, *Sharh Dustūr Hizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabi al-Ish-tiraki*, n.p., n. d.; and *Dār al-Ruwād, al-Abzāb al-Siyāsiyah fi Sūriyā*, Damascus, 1954, pp. 240-252.

Fundamental Principles

Page 196, Col. 2, Second Principle, No. 2:—

For: "an adequate opportunity"

Read: "equal opportunities"

General Provisions

Page 196, Col. 2, Article 1:—

For: "it will not pursue a regional policy, except out of regard for the higher Arab interest."

Read: "it will pursue a regional policy only from the standpoint of the higher Arab interest."

Page 196-97, Cols. 2 and 1, Article 2:—

Read: "The general headquarters of the party is at present in Damascus, but it may be transferred to any other Arab city if the national interest so determines."

Page 197, Col. 1, Article 3:—

For: "the exercise of their rights in the individualistic (sphere) of national life."

Read: "in the exercise of their rights in individual and national life."

Page 197, Cols. 1 and 2, Article 6:—

For: "The party believes that dependence upon gradual change and contentment with superficial (because) partial amelioration will defeat these ends (through faint-heartedness and loss of opportunities)."

Read: "[The party believes] that dependence upon gradual change and contentment with partial and superficial reform threaten these goals with failure and loss."

Page 197, Col. 2, Article 7:—

For: "Atlas range"

Read: "Atlantic Ocean"

Page 197, Col. 2, Article 9:—

For: "The subjects of the Arab State are the subjects of the Arab revolt"

Read: "The flag of the Arab State is the flag of the Arab revolt"

Page 197, Col. 2, Article 11:—

For: "for the purpose of colonization,"

Read: "for an imperialistic purpose,"

The Foreign Policy of the Party

Page 198, Col. 2, Article 24:—

For: "When the Arab people alone become the source"

Read: "Since the Arab people alone are the source"

Page 198, Col. 2, Article 25:—

For: "The Arab foreign policy will be revealed to have received its correct form from the will of the Arabs, to live in freedom, and from their desire to see all other nations similarly enjoying freedom."

Read: "Arab foreign policy aims at presenting a true picture of the will of the Arabs to live in freedom and of their desire to see all other nations similarly enjoying freedom."

The Economic Policy of the Party

Page 198, Col. 2, Article 30:—

Read: "Agricultural ownership will be limited in accordance with the ability of the owner to exploit it completely without exploiting the labor of others, under the supervision of the state and in accordance with its general economic program."

Page 198, Col. 2, Article 32:—

Read: "The workers shall participate in the management of the factory, and shall be granted in addition to their wages, which are to be determined by the State, a share of the profits of the work, the proportion of which (share) is to be determined by the state."

Note: The original translation appears to miss the main point: that the workers participate in plant management and, beyond that, actually share in the profits—which bears more far-reaching socialistic connotations than is suggested in the translator's introduction. (see also article 39)

Page 199, Col. 1, Article 37:—

For: "in all spheres"

Read: "in each country"

For: "and in order to fulfill desired priorities."

Read: "and the abundance of primary resources in it."

The Social Policy of the Party

Page 199, Col. 1, Article 39:—

For: "clinics and dispensaries"

Read: "sanitaria and hospitals"

For: "scrupulous medical treatment"

Read: "free medical treatment"

Page 199, Col. 2, Article 40, c):—

Read: "The state will guarantee the subsistence of all those incapable of work."

Page 199, Col. 2, Article 40, d):—

For: "unemployment"

Read: "disability"

Page 199, Col. 2, Article 41, c):—

For: "'ulama"

Read: "learned men" (i.e. scientists, not religious ulema)

Page 200, Col. 1, Article 41, d):—

For: "popular organizations,"

Read: "youth organizations,"

Page 200, Col. 1, Article 42:—

For: "Manifestations"

Read: "Differences"

For: "resulting in"

Read: "resulting from"

Educational and Instructional Policy of the Party

Page 200, Col. 2:—

For: "retrograde authority,"

Read: "reactionary (or old-fashioned) traditions,"

Finally in his introduction, the translator notes that the concluding provision of the constitution "merely confounds (*sic*) confusion." The text of the article, in actual fact, is utterly clear:—

Amendment of the Constitution

Page 200, Col. 2:—

Read: "The fundamental and general principles may not be amended. The remaining articles of the constitution may be amended with the approval of two-thirds of the members of the council of the Party after a proposal has been submitted by the executive committee or by one-fourth of the members of the council or by one-tenth of the members of the general organization."

NICHOLAS L. HEER, Curator,
Middle East Collections,

HOWARD E. KOCH, JR.,
Senior Researcher,
The Hoover Institution
Stanford, California

Dear Sir:

Professor Elwell-Sutton complains (in his letter, *Middle East Journal*, Summer 1959) of my having "naively" quoted his allegation that Iranian employees of AIOC, because they did not receive proper advancement, were in no position to help the Persian Government "to get any information to back its claims." Since he may have missed my point, which is really pretty fundamental, let me ask him this: Would he really ask *any* company to promote to the policy level an employee who has a duty (even a patriotic duty) to leak its business affairs in order to bolster claims against his employer?

As I implied in the article he criticizes, I agree with him that AIOC moved too slowly in advancing its Persian employees (although neither the Professor nor I deserves credit for originating this idea); I was simply trying to suggest that there may have been problems from the company standpoint, and that the Professor seemed to have inadvertently ("naively"?) stumbled on one of them.

DAVID FINNIE
Myanos Road
New Canaan, Connecticut

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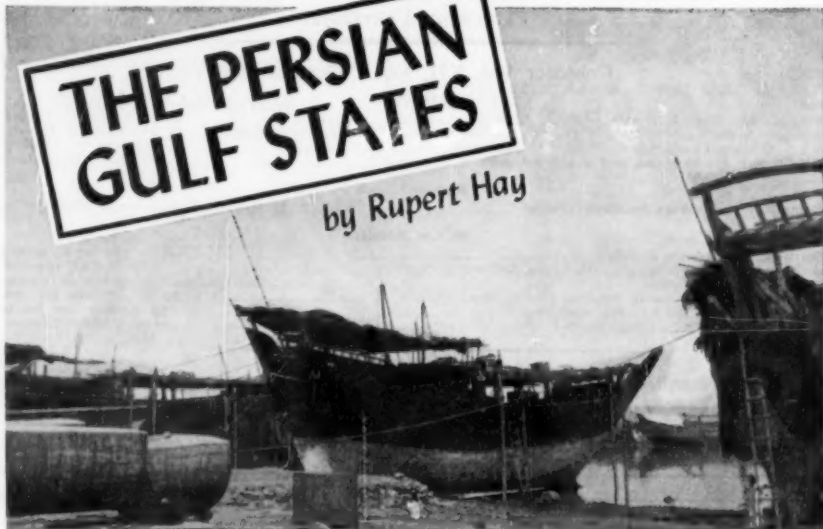
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